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ARMS FOR PEACE



MIND IS THE ULTIMATE WEAPON

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JULY

The Federal Budget 2004-2005

Balancing humanity against numbers

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Ikram ul-Majeed Sehgal
Publisher and Chief Editor

Dear Readers,

With the exit of the hapless Chief Minister Sindh Ali Bux Maher, change for the better has been initiated but far more will be required to tackle the deteriorating security situation within Karachi and in interior Sindh. The political situation is going through a major flux with all sorts of permutations and combinations with regards to political alliances, sometimes the MMA and PPP speak in unison, sometimes they don't. As far as the MQM is concerned, they are busy giving ultimatums to friend and foe alike, the Government Coalition is anything but a union of minds and hearts. The faint-hearted should be prepared to be assailed by a spate of rumours whenever visiting Islamabad. A few minutes before entering the President's Chambers in the National Assembly (NA) on Friday June 25 I was told authoritatively that Prime Minister Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali viz (1) was about to resign (2) had already resigned or (3) was about to be sacked. During the 45-minute pleasant conversation with the President he touched on a number of subjects but did not say one word about a possible change of PMs. His office was a virtual oasis of peace, a calm eye surrounded by a storm of rumours. For nearly 40 years now one has been aware of Pervez Musharraf's strong nerves yet I walked out of the room rather dazed, was the President in his NA Chamber living in an unreal world or was it the world outside that was less than real? The PM change has not yet taken place as DJ goes into print, I hope and pray that it doesn't. All said and done the country will be the eventual loser! For the benefit of readers, I am taking the liberty of re-producing my recent article, "UNEASY LIES THE HEAD".

As an important event, the Federal Budget has been overshadowed by rumours fast and furious that the Prime Minister's crown on Zafarullah Khan Jamali's head is wobbling precariously, his position being further undercut when PML President Ch Shujaat Hussain volunteered that there are about 50 potential PMs in the Federal Cabinet. Most political crisis in Pakistan take life with the motivated creation of a credibility gap (and widening thereof into mutual suspicion) between the Head of State and Head of Government. As matters stand today, and in the absence of an emphatic denial from Pervez Musharraf, Jamali's exit is increasingly being proclaimed a fait accompli, even though Ch Shujaat and Pervaiz Elahi demonstrated a hand-holding photo-ops with the PM. This being Budget season, if something is likely to happen it may happen in July or later, certainly before the shuffling of the Army's hierarchy in October. In the meantime Pakistan will continue to be subjected to (and buffeted by) rumours and speculation. What's new?

Zafarullah Khan Jamali has not changed in the nearly half century that I have known him, he is not a dual (or triple) personality as almost all our (and one daresays all over the world) politicians are. Three or four years older in years, he was only one class (that being the average age of students for that class) ahead of us in Lawrence College, Ghoragali. Some older boys in public schools tend to be bullies, not so Jamali's perennial sidekick Inayatullah Khan Niazi (Maj Gen, retired) and Jamali, "Jaw" and "Jabal" (alongwith other heroes of my schooldays, Jaffer Khan (Brig, retired) and Farouk Adam (Major, retired)) were among those older boys who stood up for the younger lot against the bullies, that Jamali still stands up for the poor and the impoverished four decades later is not surprising. Inculcating both decency and integrity, Zafarullah shares some of strong qualities of "the boss", mainly (1) an abiding deep loyalty for his friends (2) a disarming lack of arrogance and (3) an unaffected natural style both for public and private viewing. More of a silent operator, rather than being

boisterous, people tend to under-estimate him. This quiet manner fuels public perception of a staid, deliberate approach to work, he is in fact a committed workaholic, going about his business in a quiet methodical manner without creating waves. Not many people know that he gets into the files after "Fajr" prayers, working through breakfast till he is ready for office in the late morning, the bottom line is that he gets the job done without self-fanfare.

A gruff, stolid figure not given to histrionics, he is a populist without being demonstrative. In a country where late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto set his own political pace for populism by engaging in studied public histrionics, the comparison can be a problem. A patient man, beneath that amiable exterior Zafarullah has a steel-like personality that only reacts at a time and opportunity of his choosing, and when necessary. In the predator world of Baloch tribal culture where Marris, Mengals and Bugtis tend to throw their weight around, the Jāmalis are basically survivors and Zafarullah Khan is the ultimate symbol. Despite ingrained loyalty to his friends and mentors he seldom compromises on professional competence, a crucial ingredient for good governance. With only that much actual power as afforded to him in basically a Presidential system masquerading as a Parliamentary one and a cabinet full of PM-hopefuls with their knives perennially out, government has not been functioning at the pace it should for good governance. That is hardly Jamali's fault!

For any leader to be effective he must have his own team, chosen on merit and loyalty. For political purposes and particularly in Third World democracies, the PM has to compromise and take for his team players that may not be his first, second or even last choice. However the inherent disloyalty in those who want to become PM themselves needs containing, the lack of submitting to one authority makes for a situation readymade for disaster. How can anyone function effectively when he (or she) knows that the number of his (or her) team are not fully committed to him (or her) policies, and that they are all out to let him (or her) down so as to advance their own candidacy? It is morally repugnant for PM-aspirants to sit in the Cabinet while not giving their loyalty to the PM, the 50-odd number given by Ch Shujaat reflects a widespread character flaw, how can anyone profess fealty to anyone while conspiring to take his (or her) job? Would the President tolerate anyone around him if he knows (or comes to know) that the person is not fully committed to him?

The President should read Homer's Iliad (i.e. if he has not already read it or seen the recent movie "Troy"). Achilles was the greatest warrior among the Greeks, yet his mother often exhorted him not to engage King Priam's son Hector in battle, to quote "Hector is beloved of the Gods, if you kill Hector, you will not survive". To ensure immortality, given that his mother had dipped him in holy water, holding him by his heel, Achilles heel was the only vulnerable spot in his body. Frustrated with

King Agememnon's attitude Achilles avoided battle till one day Hector killed one of Achilles' best friend, Patroclus. In an epic confrontation Achilles killed Hector and dragged his body behind his chariot. Later Hector's brother Paris shot the arrow that hit Achilles in his heel and killed him. Insecurity is every leader's Achilles heel, the motivated foster and exploit this insecurity assiduously. Someone is deliberately contriving a rift between the President and the PM to perpetuate his own nuisance value, so what's new? As a mature thinking person the President would be well advised to find out motivation of the person trying to orchestrate the cleavage, his own crass ambitions and interest or that of the President?

Could it be that some contenders are part of the conspiracy? If Humayun Akhtar Khan, Shaukat Aziz and Zubaida Jalal are going to be puppets-on-a-string for a king/queen maker, I would be disappointed. Humayun is the hot favourite of the Chaudhrys, there is no doubt by that given his credentials and personality he is a good candidate, but a Punjabi PM replacing in midstream a Baloch may not be good for the Federation. Moreover he has a major Achilles Heel viz, he should be prepared for a thorough probe of where his father inherited his wealth. On the other hand Finance Minister Shaukat is a well-heeled former Citibank executive, as Finance Minister he has clout presently that he may not have as PM. Shaukat would be subject to his "private-banking" career cynosure that may be difficult to contain politically. As for Zubaida Jalal, are we really serious? For whatever reason, the "Education Ministry" is already immersed in controversy. Why not look at other dark horses if we have to have a technocrat as PM? Why not think about Dr Abdul Hafeez Shaikh, or for that matter Mushahid Hussain, both clean of any controversy. Dr Hafeez Shaikh's strong suit is the need of the times, the economy and his pragmatic hands-on approach to it. At first glance I thought Mushahid was a square peg in a round hole for the Secretary General PML's job, on closer inspection it turns out that given the lack of organization and method in PML, the President made an inspired choice for a structured Mr Clean. Besides being exceedingly articulate, Mushahid has clear-cut views on foreign policy that reflect the views of the military hierarchy, a great asset in domestic, regional and international context. Even today either he or Shaukat Aziz should be in the Foreign Office slot, at least Pakistan's position will be presented with knowledge and reason.

Jamali is a proud man and has reason to be proud, as an independent CM of Balochistan he proved to be an able administrator, as a PM he is in the Mohammad Khan Junejo-mould. Jamali is in a "revolving door" situation because he is not the dummy he was probably meant to be by those who supported the President's choice of PM in late 2002. Zafarullah has reason to hold his head high, he has done well enough in the circumstances allowed to him, with the dignity and self-respect befitting his heritage. ♦

It will be a privilege to publish letters from readers about articles written in previous issues or giving suggestions. No letter will be printed which indulges in personalized attacks or is meaningless in the context of DJ

Beheading Berg

Dear Ikram Sehgal

Cold blooded murder of Mr. Berg by the Iraqis was simply preposterous. No amount of its condemnation by the saner element the world over would be enough or could provide the bereaved family with even an iota of solace or compensation for their irreparable loss. Though the crime was most heinous and highly deplorable, unfortunately it came in the wake of extremely inhumane and abusive treatment meted out to the helpless Iraqi prisoners by the US army, which bewildered most nations of the world and infuriated and incensed the Iraqis in particular. And, Berg fell a victim to the circumstances, as they say. Ironically, his unfortunate death could not have been more opportune for the coalition occupation forces in Iraq to cash upon and shift the focus of the world attention from Abu Ghraib to Islamic Jihadis. In that they have not only succeeded in overshadowing the prisoners' abuse but are also giving the Berg episode a new dimension. Articles like "The Sacred Muslim Practice of Beheading" by Andrew G. Bostom have started appearing in the print and electronic media of the west, in which the writer without giving any rationale of the circumstances obtaining currently in Iraq, attributes the beheading to Berg's being 'an infidel Jew'!! The article also not only equates killing of Daniel Pearl last year in Pakistan as a part of the same sacred practice of beheading the Jews, but goes much beyond that to the times of Mughal Emperor Babur and the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) ordering

beheading of the tribe of Qurayza in the 7th century. I think such provocative and one-sided journalism will serve no purpose in promoting world peace. I am sure even a layman in any street of the world will vouch that late Berg was not beheaded for being a Jew, nor was Daniel Pearl. As a matter of fact their illiterate captives could hardly differentiate between a white Jew, an American, a British or even a German or a Greek! Why raise now this question of someone being a Jew and on top of it making him 'An Infidel Jew' in the writing. As far as the infidelity of a Jew or for that matter anyone else's is concerned, let me please quote from Qura'n' *"Those who believe and those who are Jews and Christians and Sabians, whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day and do righteous good deeds shall have their reward with their Lord. On them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve."* (Quran 2:62; also 5:69).

May Berg and Pearl souls rest in peace in heavens, ameen.

Truly

Col. Riaz Jafri (Retd)

.....

Plight of Old Pensioners

Sir,

In the 1980s the then Finance Minister Dr Mahbub ul Haq announced to remove the disparity in the pensions of the old and new pensioners annually in three stages. The first he implemented but the rest were forgotten by his successors till 1st October 1999 when the Prime Minister announced the elimination of disparity between the old pension-

ers of over 70 years of age and the new pensioners. However even this has still remained unimplemented by the progressive and enlightened government we hear so much about.

The Finance Minister should realise that the vast majority of old pensioners are living below the poverty line. Surely shortage of funds is an overplayed excuse as we have seen how lavishly the legislators and others have been showered with perks and benefits. Had the Finance Minister done a simple arithmetical exercise before giving a paltry relief of 16% increase in the pensions he would have found that in the case of the old pensioners of 70s this in real terms further aggravates the disparity as the following example shows.

An old retired Brigadier would now draw a pension of Rs 9,976.00 an increase of Rs 1,376.00 against a newly retired Brigadier who will now receive Rs 24,219.00 an increase of Rs 1,794. And unbelievable as it may be, a senior and old retired Federal Secretary (a senior-most civil servant) and Major General will now get Rs 11,136.00, which is less than the pension of a newly retired arm captain which is Rs 12,420.00. Isn't this outrageous! With this sort of treatment can one blame corruption in the government.

Since most of the retirees are ex-military, it is surprising that Service Headquarters have not taken up this disparity with the Ministry of Finance.

I hope it is still not too late to rectify this situation.

Thanking you and with regards

S. Z. Hasnain
Rear Admiral (Retd)

On one-sidedness

Sir,

While your article "An open letter of Thanks to the President of United States" in June 2004 issue of Defence Journal contains more than a grain of truth, you seem to forget that every coin has at least two sides – since not mentioned were the reasonability behind the Twin Towers, or the Passover Night Massacre in Nathania, or the massacre in Java, or in Quetta, or ... the list is long, very long.

Sarcasm cannot "cover-up" the truth – most of the terrorism act were committed by people who misinterpreted Prophet Mohammed (PBUH).

You mentioned "your poor Israeli friends do get a few drops of Iraqi oil?" For your knowledge – we get quite a big portion of oil and gas from Egypt and not from Iraq (at least for the time being).

You also mentioned the Sabra and Chatilla massacres – right you are, they were massacres – executed by the Lebanese Phalanges and NOT by IDF. And by the way, the poor fellow Sheik Yassin notwithstanding that he was 70 years old and paraplegic – he was a Preacher of Death and yes, he was a "grave danger", if not for the entire world at least to us.

I don't plan to exchange of poisoned arrows with you, but how unreasonable you can be?

Sincerely
David L. Yarkony
A friend of Pakistan

.....

Dear Sir,

Further to my letter published on pages 7 and 8 in the DJ issue of June 2004. The learned Mr A H Amin has also mentioned, in his letter published on pages 4 to 6 in the May issue of DJ, that FM Ayub was posted to the Chamar

Battalion. But according to his son (Mr Gohar Ayub) Ayub had commanded 1st Assam in Burma. If he had served in 19 Division under Maj Gen Reese and earned adverse remarks (Tactical Timidity) why was he accepted as a brigadier in the Punjab Boundary Force under the same GOC during 1947? Ayub had also commanded 16/15 Punjab from 25 December 1945 to 11 April 1946.

According to the book "The Golden Galley – The story of the 2nd Punjab Regt., By Lt Col Sir Geoffry Botham", the 27/2nd (The Chamar) was raised in 1942 at 2nd Punjab Regt: Centre Meerut. It was an experiment with a class never previously enlisted as combatants, being recruited from the Chamars, who were workers in leather and skin. The experiment was so successful, and the men did so well that it had been taken on as a regular unit of the Indian Army. They fought against the Japanese in Kohima, Jessami, Ukhpaul, crossed the river Chindwin and marched on all pack basis through difficult and trackless bill jungle country for 180 miles and fought battles in Myingyan, Ava, Mount Popa and Allamyo. Throughout the performance was commendable and won many awards. The battalion was disbanded during 1946.

In the Pakistan Army there is no separate unit for carpenters, cobblers, barbers, blacksmith but from these professional classes combatant soldiers are found in every unit.

With regards

Yours Sincerely

M. A. Gilani

Morality Explained

Dear Sir,

Morality is attitudinal changing with demands sensitive to requisition and susceptible to privatisation. It is associated with relations and relationships, they do the defining, values set the standards and value systems inscribe flexibility and add value to morality.

Morality is also closely associated with fundamentals and hence among the essentials of fundamentalism morality takes the centre stage. The illustrations of fundamentalism are such that a fundamentalist's description of morality is sanctimonious, and not surprising the gentility of morality is symbolised a great deal with male-female relationship considered to be serially affecting morality as a whole.

Howsoever, is morality described, similarly corresponding values are inscribed to characterise morality and likewise value systems are designed to paraphrase a code of conduct of application.

Religious fundamentals that fundamentalists preach, point towards the woman as the symbol of morality. Society, as they say, cannot be following any other ideology other than the religious ideology, therefore whether morality is religious or social, woman signifies morality. On her shoulders they place the burden of meeting the demands of morality and ironically she is the one who gets the blame for acts of immorality. This is farcical indeed.

Fortunately, by nature, a woman has more regards for morality than a man has. Man values morality but does not practice as freely. For this he not only gets away he designs value systems, keeping his convenience in view. Interestingly his convenience is not consistent either.

Fundamentalists are vocal, assertive, deeply passionate and unwisely emotional, therefore their

understanding about morality, values and value systems is barely sufficient and in all fairness suffers from intellectual confusion. They are quick in declaring what in their view does not meet the essentials of morality, as immoral without due consideration of individual and social demands and outlook. For the benefit of all, morality and immorality is like over clothed or under clothed body. How much of morality is represented by an over clothed body and how much of immorality an under clothed body displays, is a matter of opinion.

Other than that most damaging is duality in preaching morality and corresponding to this state of morality are the unthought-out values and value systems. This may be one of the reasons for intellectual deviation and as a result our primary thinking about morality becomes a casualty to hysterics. Adding to the confusion, we try and suit morality to individual taste. Selective and yielding when it comes to self and favourites and unyielding and propagandist when it comes to others.

We should attempt to convince our increasingly skeptical thinking about moral standards and living standards. We must remind ourselves that both are different in terms of interpretation as well as perception and we should see that interpretations and perceptions do not follow different routes. In fact we should let interpretations create a balance between the two, let perceptions provide the vision and allow flexibility in thinking to assist interpretations and perceptions to develop harmony in the two sets of standards. A word of caution about the genesis of flexibility, flexibility should not be overrated.

But this is not how things happen. Invariably we do the opposite. Enforcing individually perceived moral standards on the society by overreaching the limits of flexibility and becoming uncompromising on

interpretations and perceptions. Thus making life difficult for self and others.

'Live and let live' is a simply philosophy of life but people do not practise this ideology. The problem is global. West thinks East is immoral with regards to politics and human values. East considers West immoral with regards to social and religious values. Who is wrong and how far is a matter of opinion. Should we go to war for this? Is 9/11, destruction of Afghanistan, occupation of Iraq answers to our failure to understand morality and immorality. Do fundamentalism and liberalism truly represent morality and immorality respectively?

Regards

Col (R) Masood Anwar

.....

Dear Mr. Seghal

Mr. Talat Masood in his opinion, "Towards N-stability in South Asia" published by Daily Dawn has brought up some serious concerns that ought to be examined. Not too long ago information minister has given an open statement, "if India stops its nuclear programme we will too". It seems current military leaders are heading on the same path.

Increase in Indian conventional forces either qualitatively or quantitatively is only one dimension in the equation of national security. Opportunity to improve relations with India shouldn't be taken lightly though maintaining all thresholds.

1- The widely held view that nuclear powers do not engage in conventional conflict for fear of escalation was falsified twice, first during Kargil and later when India mobilised its forces on the common border for 10 months to wage a "limited war", betraying a "stability-instability paradox".

2- Pakistani military leaders have

vaguely referred to certain "territorial red lines". A major setback to its conventional armed forces can also be assumed to be a critical threshold. A somewhat clearer definition of these concepts without disclosing the exact nature of response could emerge from a nuclear dialogue.

3- If India increases its conventional forces either qualitatively or quantitatively and alters the existing balance significantly, then Pakistan's reliance on nuclear capability will correspondingly increase thereby lowering the nuclear threshold, however self-destructive this policy may be.

Best Regards

Kadar

.....

Dear Editor

Mr. A. H. Amin's article 'Why Indo-Pak Armies Failed in War' in May issue was an interesting reading. Author has given some operational details of various operations and the causes of failure. In the second part, the author has linked the failure of high command of Indo-Pak armies to colonial legacy. In this, he has stretched the link to over two hundred years. The subject is quite complex and can be the material for whole book. Only the performance of officers who joined the colonial army in 1930s and continued on to lead their respective armies in 1950s and 1960s can be traced to their origins and surely the ethos and training under British had a big impact on them. The British trained natives for only company and battalion command because no one thought that they would be leaving India someday. British were of the view that they would be directing the higher command of war in case of a foreign invasion. However, trying to re-interpret the history of India through a post-independence nationalist prism may lead one to wrong conclusions. The problem of Indian history is two fold. On one hand, most writings during

British rule were by British who viewed the natives as inferior both materially and morally. Though this analysis was wrong, but who can blame them. A handful of British were able to conquer whole India with diverse population and able to modernise a primitive society. On the other end of the spectrum, post-independence writers of India and Pakistan have tried to re-interpret historical events in the modern nationalist tone (Ironically, it was the British who brought the intellectual and philosophical base of the idea of nationalism to India and it was spread through education of masses. The physical basis for the creation of a nation in India through roads, railways, an integrated economy and a centralised judicial system was also due to direct British rule). Much has been written by the devious policy of British to divide and rule. This is not something, which British had brought to India. The system has been in place from time immemorial. British simply continued it. The very caste system of Hindus assigning particular role to each group for generations to come is the prime example. There were warriors, artisans and businessmen and their future generations followed the footsteps. Muslim rulers continued the same policies. Mughals employed Hindu Rajputs to subjugate the majority Hindu population, while many Hindu generals have kept the rebellious Pushtuns in check. In their turn, the Marhattas using their guerrilla tactics or banditry were the main factor for sapping the energies of once great empire. In this effort, many Muslims who were opposed to Mughals joined them.

The India in eighteenth century and early nineteenth century was not a one nation. This was the time of a dying empire, which is normally, accompanied by civil strife; rebellions and a God send opportunity for mercenaries, military adventurers and freebooters, both local and foreign. The military campaigns, alliances and battles should be seen in that context and not through present prism of nationalism

or some high moral grounds. This was the time for private profit and fortunes and individuals and groups, which were very narrow based, played their part. After all, Haider Ali was technically a mercenary who entered the service of a Hindu raja. Due to his extraordinary talent he was able to rise through the ranks and ultimately take over the estate of his master. Later, he became a hero because now he had to defend his acquisition against the encroachment of British. The great Mughal King Jauhar Ali Shah Alam the Second was in reality a blind man (blinded by Muslim Rohillas) and it was a Marhatta force, which rescued him, and later he was practically their hostage. The Shia Turis invited British to Kurram valley because Sunni Jajis had declared Jihad against them and they were threatened with extinction. Sikhs, Muslims of Punjab and Pushtuns helped British recover from the great challenge of 1857 rebellion of native troops. Many similar examples can be cited to understand the complex factors at play at one particular time.

The event of Yusuf Khan quoted by author is just one of hundreds where alliances were made and broken depending on the ground realities and shifting interests. (for details of some of the Pushtun mercenary activities see Hamid Hussain. Tribes and Turbulence. *Defence Journal*; June 2003) Pushtun adventurer Amir Khan had a large body of Pushtun cavalry. He joined hands with Marhatta Chieftain Jaswant Rao Holkar and defeated diverse foes. When the British appeared to be the stronger party, he cut a deal with them and was made Nawab of Tonk. A large Rohilla contingent under Shitab Khan was working for a British mercenary George Thomas along with many Afghan chieftains. When enemies surrounded Thomas, all his Muslim troops deserted him. Another Rohilla adventurer Ghulam Qadir took advantage of the chaotic situation and captured Delhi. Finding the

royal kitty empty, he became furious and threw Shah Alam II on ground and sat on his chest and picked the Emperor's eyes with his dagger. Poor Shah Alam sent a letter to Marhatta chief Madhaji to come as his protector and assume the post of *Wakil-ul-Mutliq*. Mughal General Ismael Beg viewed Marhattas better than Ghulam Qadir and opened the gates of city for Marhatta troops. Another group of mercenary troops known as Najib Battalions (all Muslims) worked for Marhattas and European mercenaries. (for details of these groups see *Swords for Hire* by Shelford Bidwell) Pushtuns of settled districts greeted British as liberators because they ended the repressive Sikh rule and raids of border tribes. This was the reason that majority of Pushtuns rallied under the British flag and chased rebellious Hindustani troops in Mardan, Nowshera and Peshawar in 1857. Unfortunately, sanitised and indoctrinated versions of history taught in India and Pakistan has not left any room for more academic and serious critical analysis of history.

The subject of relationship of British officers with natives is also not a simple ruler/vanquished equation and changed over two hundred years time period. Even in a homogenous modern army, rivalry between different arms, prejudices and conflict between different groups is normal. Clearly, the present day philosophy of equality of humans and individual capabilities cannot be applied to eighteenth century India. As rulers, British had in general very negative view of all natives both Hindu and Muslim. However, in army all British were not the same. The company officers in eighteenth century who had the closest relationship with natives had generally positive view of some qualities of natives. Many officers married native women and had close bonds with their men. Some of them adopted native customs and

even kept their harems known as *Bibi Ghars*. Many British officers refused to accept staff appointments and sacrificed their careers to stay with their regiments. In contrast, British officers of regular army who were posted in India had not only negative view of natives but hated also the Company officers who were considered socially inferior. In British army of that time, commissions and promotions were purchased and officers were generally from aristocracy. Pedigree and wealth were essential for promotions. In contrast, Company officers were from lower segments of British society who either lacked the social standing or wealth to enter British army. In addition, the promotions were strictly on basis of seniority. The clash between Company and British officers of regular army was a major problem and there are many instances of mutinies. Governor General Macartney arrested and later deported the Commander-in-Chief of Company's army Major General James Stuart. When senior British officer Major General Sir John Burgoyne refused to recognise the authority of the C-in-C of Company's army, he had him arrested also. (for details of complex relations between native sepoys, Company and British officers see Raymond Callahan. *The East India Company and Army Reform, 1783-1798*, Amiya Barat. *The Bengal Native Infantry 1796-1852*) The arrival of large number of English women resulted in increasing segregation in cantonments between natives and British. This reinforced the racial prejudices and elite Indian regiments preferred a higher pedigree. To understand the change over a century, one example will suffice. The founder of elite Skinner's Horse, James Skinner if came back eighty years later, would not have

been allowed to enter his regiment as he was an Anglo-Indian (His father was a British officer and mother a Rajput girl). After 1857 rebellion, when European troops were transferred from Company to Crown, almost all Europeans resisted it. There was great unrest among European troops and Madras Fusiliers on Queens' birthday refused to cheer the sovereign 5th European Infantry mutinied in Dinapur. The crisis was grave and an apprehensive and uncomfortable, Lord Canning changed his mind and offered to discharge all those who wanted out. Out of 16,000 European soldiers, 10,116 took their discharge and went back to Britain. (Byron Farwell. *Armies of The Raj*, p. 48) The control of Indian army over two hundred year period saw many serious disputes between King, Parliament, India House and British stationed in India. The C-in-C in India had no control over Punjab Irregular Field Force (later Frontier Force) until 1886. When natives were allowed in the officer corps, similar trend was seen between King's Commissioned Officers (KCO) trained at Sandhurst, Indian Commissioned Officers (ICO) trained at Dehra Dun and Emergency Commissioned Officers (ECO) commissioned during World War II due to acute crisis. KCOs were the *corps de elite* and didn't like ICOs. A new KCO had these words for his ICO colleagues, 'imagine our feelings when we have to call these Dehra Doon pan-sies our brother officers... after all these pseudo-officers are young men who could not afford to go to Sandhurst'. ECOs were at the bottom of the social order and those officers who had served in the ranks before their commissions were more like 'untouchables'. (for details of some these mutual jeal-

ousies see Hamid Hussain's. *The Romance of Soldiering - Experience of Colonial India. Defence Journal*, October 2002)

One cannot agree more with author about the real task ahead that is of better understanding among different segments of the society. Respecting each other for their beliefs and views even if one disagrees cannot be overemphasized. In the absence of that no amount of hardware or military training can safeguard country's security. Make sure your Brigade Major has the same stakes because if he decides to go over to the enemy then game is over. If an Ahmadi or Shia is butchered inside his own place of worship, what kind of love or patriotism would you expect from him? A brilliant Pakistani senior army officer was not promoted due to his religious beliefs and was told this fact on his face by army chief. When he decided to settle in another country, his words were, 'I would like to be a second class citizen of a first rate state rather than live as a third class citizen in a third rate state' (personal communication to author). One Kurd when asked about their relationship with Israelis and Americans commented that my whole generations have been persecuted, dislocated, killed, bombed and maimed by the so-called brothers (referring to Turkish, Iranian and Iraqi governments) and no one ever bothers to ask question let alone help. If they seek help of Israelis and see Americans as true liberators, they are simply acknowledging the truth. The problem is not that the adversary has become strong but the truth is that friends have become weak.

Kind Regards

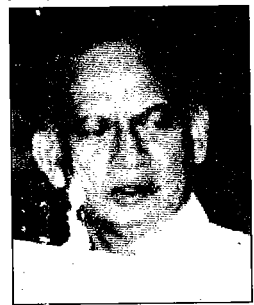
Hamid Hussain
Port Jefferson, New York



Finance Minister Shaukat Aziz, delivers his budget speech during the parliament session in Islamabad.

The tough budgetary exercise

Columnist **SULTAN AHMED** says that the present Federal Budget has been proposed under severe constraints.



Making a budget for Pakistan with its ever growing millions which have now reached 151 millions is a tough task.

And when one-third of the people live below the poverty line of a dollar a day which warps their productive capacity, the task of the budget-makers becomes even more challenging.

While the country needs top most priority to be given to development, along with the largest possible financial allocation, there are other irresistible demands on the scarce resources which reduces

the allocation for the essential development.

It is true that Rs. 202 billion has been allocated for development in the year 2004-5 against Rs. 160 billion in the current year which is expected to create a million jobs. But that is not the largest single allocation from the Rs. 903 billion budget.

The largest single allocation is for debt-servicing, external and domestic, and that will cost Rs. 266 billion. It is true that marks a reduction of Rs. 51.4 billion in the cost of debt-servicing as last year the country spent Rs. 317.7 billion on that. Now following the fall in external debt to 35.85 billion dollars and the drop in the interest rates on domestic debt the total debt servicing cost has come down by Rs. 51.4 billion which is bound to be for more next year.

Keeping aside the allocation for development, the second largest allocation is for defence which will be Rs. 193.5 billion against Rs. 180 billion in the current year, which again was a distinct increase in the targeted outlay of Rs. 160 billion.

In two years the defence outlay has jumped by Rs. 33.5 billion at a time when the people were expecting a reduction in defence outlay due to varied factors. Pakistan's nuclear capability and its range of missiles have been accepted by the countries of the world, including the major nuclear powers and Pakistan has been declared a major non-NATO ally by the US.

The US is committed to provide 1.5 billion dollars to Pakistan as military aid over a period of five years or at the rate of 300 million dollars each year, in addition to varied assistance for fighting terrorism.

Relations between India and Pakistan are improving and the people on both sides have demonstrated their

resolve for peace and cultural cooperation in various fields.

The US, China and Western powers as a whole are exerting pressure on India to come to a peaceful and durable settlement with Pakistan and make South Asia a zone of peace.

Nevertheless, Pakistan has to be on guard as India goes on acquiring more and more sophisticated arms and armaments to make itself militarily too formidable. But the understanding between India and Pakistan reached last week in New Delhi on nuclear restraint and safeguards is a welcome development.

Another major item of increase in expenditure is the rise in the dearness allowance of government employees by 15 per cent and of pensions of retired before 1994 of 16 per cent and those who retired after that by 8 per cent, which will cost the government Rs. 15 billion, while the cost of all the tax relief and tax incentives announced during the budget is only Rs. 7.5 billion.

And this fact has upset the tax-payers. While Finance Minister Shaukat Aziz took the longest time to make the announcements of the relief in his budget speech the net relief to the people in terms of money is very small.

Typical of the gap between the illusion and the reality is the announcement of 58 paisa per unit of electricity for industrialists which the finance minister announced. That made the people protest that while the poor among them were given only 10 paisa per unit relief the industrialists were given a 58 paisa per unit relief. It now seems the 58 paisa relief would be available to only 1,000 factories while 200,000 industrial consumers will benefit by only 10 paisa per unit relief. Such tricky announcements should have been avoided instead of raising high hopes and then dashing them to the ground.

The three non-development items claim Rs. 474 billion which is more than half the budgetary expenditure of Rs. 903 billion. Then there is the cost of

running the civil government which will be Rs. 344.6 billion, which leaves too little for development spending and social reconstruction.

The issue now is whether all the development outlay of Rs. 202 billion will actually be spent as fruitfully as conceived or the spending will be actually be far less, as is the case usually. The decision of the government now is the development funds not used within the specified year will not be allowed to lapse but be carried over to the next period after a proper review of the causes of the delay and eliminating them. The development spending as earmarked is imperative

increasing unemployment suicides which result in too many widows and far too many orphan children, including young girls who fall a prey to sexual predators.

The budget tries to please every section of the people, beginning with the farmers to whom a great many concessions have been offered. But the small farmers protest the budget favours the big farmers with very large credit given quick and cheaper tractors and other agricultural equipment. The small farmers would have preferred cheaper fertilizers and pesticides by removing the 15 per cent general sales tax. Anyway, far more

The people expected a great deal from this government and this budget after it had been speaking very eloquently and very elaborately about its achievements in the macro-economic sector. They want more jobs and lower prices, better educational facilities and large medical systems. They are not ready to put up with high unemployment and higher prices in spite of the government's claim about low inflation.

now as that has to create a million jobs in a country marked for very high unemployment and increasing unemployment suicides.

The people expected a great deal from this government and this budget after it had been speaking very eloquently and very elaborately about its achievements in the macro-economic sector. They want more jobs and lower prices, better educational facilities and large medical systems. They are not ready to put up with high unemployment and higher prices in spite of the government's claim about low inflation. And they are shocked by the

agricultural credit would be available next year than before to the extent of Rs. 80 billion.

The budget helps industrial investors in a big way by reducing the import duty on machinery or doing away with it altogether and lowering the duty on industrial raw materials. The Government is pleased with the remarkable industrial growth of 13.4 per cent in the first nine months of this year and hopes to achieve a far higher rate of industrial growth next year to complete an economic growth of 6.6 per cent, and 7 to 8 per within the next three years.

Many have dismissed it as a rich man's budget, which is true to an extent. The opposition leader Maulana Fazlur Rahman has voiced the same feeling. But then if more investment has to be made and far more jobs created the investors have to be given further incentives. Trade and industry have to do two things now: pass on the benefits of the lower prices to the people and invest far more and with greater earnestness than before. Otherwise, the people will be totally disillusioned by the rich and agitate against them.

Some of them, principally the members and brokers of the stock exchanges, caught hold of the 0.1 per cent capital Value Tax on the purchase of shares in the stock market as a major point of objection and took to violence. In terms of revenues the government would have got far less than Rs. 5 or Rs. 7 billion as the number of shares actually traded on the exchanges would have come down sharply. But there would be a record of who is trading in what and to what extent. And the wild speculation or merry gambling might have come down. And that is a good thing for the health of the exchanges and the economy. But the members of the exchanges and brokers who took to violence wanted no checks on the free play or merry gambling on the exchanges. And they have won. The Finance Minister has reduced the CVT to 0.01 per cent of the value of the shares traded, while the members of the stock exchanges are ready to pay more tax on other accounts.

The budget raises the threshold for income tax from Rs. 80,000 to Rs. 100,000 and has offered relief for widows and senior citizens who save. The government also proposes to convert National Savings Organization into a proper corporation called Pakistani Savings, trading on a variety of savings instruments.

The Chairman of the Central Board of Revenue Abdullah Yousuf says far more important than the

tax relief given to trade and industry is the removal of too many irritating regulations and checks on trade and industry, particularly the small and medium enterprises hemmed in by regulations. They will all be able to work in a freer atmosphere and become far more productive, he says.

The finance minister has announced further relief in his speech winding up the budget debate without affecting the tax revenue collection of Rs. 580 billion next year, which is an increase of Rs. 70 billion over the current year's revenues. That he has been able to

has to be paid. The government hence reduced the import duty on cars by 25 to 50 per cent. That did not make the home-assembled cars less expensive. Now the government has decided only those with a National Tax Number can get the cars. And the number of car buyers has crashed as in a country with 150 million people there are only a million persons with National Tax Numbers. The farmers as a whole can't get a new car, but can buy second hand cars. And the domestic car assemblers feel hit doubly hard.

The fact is the government does not want to give away much by way of tax relief as it has to raise additional Rs. 70

There are other tax relief given by the budget by one hand and taken away by the other. Because of the excessive demand for cars assembled within the country delivery of cars was to be delayed not by months but by years. Otherwise a very hefty premium has to be paid. The government hence reduced the import duty on cars by 25 to 50 per cent.

give such a large variety of concessions and yet collect Rs. 70 billion more as tax revenue next year can be a creditable achievement.

The Saudi Oil Subsidy of an average of 800 million dollars annually for five years is gone. When it was there the people did not benefit by it but the state did. The people paid world prices for their POL plus the very hefty surcharge on petroleum. The same practice will continue now without the Saudi subsidy.

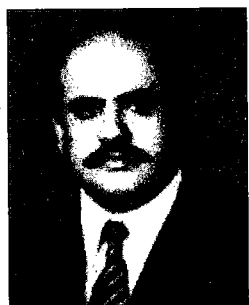
There are other tax relief given by the budget by one hand and taken away by the other. Because of the excessive demand for cars assembled within the country delivery of cars was to be delayed not by months but by years. Otherwise a very hefty premium

billion next year to meet the increased official expenditure. Hence it has spread its relief wide and thin and gained far more than it has lost.

The fact is that despite the rise in revenues the government has to raise Rs. 156 billion through external borrowing and incur a budget deficit of 4 per cent of the GDP. Hence, the finance minister has to move with a great deal of caution, repay the old costly loans earlier and seek only cheap new loans. What matters now is how well the new funds are used, avoiding the pitfalls and pratfalls of the past and the corruption which has vitiated much of the public spending and added to our debt burden heavily. ♦

India-Pakistan Nuclear CBMs: A Step in the Right Direction

Columnist **ZAFAR NAWAZ JASPAL** says that the recent nuclear crisis is a step in the right direction.



India and Pakistan revived their stalled talks on nuclear CBMs on June 19, 2004, after a hiatus of almost four years and four months. These talks were held in accordance with the agreement reached between the Foreign Secretaries of India and Pakistan on February 18, 2004. The officials of both states discussed both pending issues and new developments in the subcontinent's strategic environment on June 19 and 20, 2004. The main objective of these talks was to build mutual trust that would reduce the nuclear related risks in South Asia. They discussed the possible ways and means for establishing and sustaining strategic stability, responsible stewardship, confidence building measures, crisis management and risk reduction measures in their hostile strategic environment.

The following study is an attempt to analyze the issues on which both sides agreed and also to discuss the implications of these agreements on the strategic environment of the sub-continent.

Nuclear Enigma & CBMs

The May 1998 nuclear tests have dramatically changed the South Asian

strategic environment. Since then, the nuclear weapons have occupied center-stage in both India and Pakistan defence and security debates. The centrality of nuclear weapons in strategic discourse of India and Pakistan has brought a shift in the strategic thinking in the region and led many observers to believe that the South Asia is the most dangerous place on earth¹. This assertion seems correct due to the risk of nuclear catastrophe. It is generally viewed that an escalation from freedom movement in the Indian held Kashmir to conventional war and to nuclear exchanges is a plausibility. Chris Gange argued that "the risk of an accident leading to nuclear war would be particularly great in South Asia, where there would be almost no time to distinguish between a deliberate launch, an accident, or a false alarm".² In addition loose nuke or fissile materials falling into the wrong hands, command and control structures' problems, etc pose severe challenges to India and Pakistan securities. It seems that South Asia is exposed to nuclear Armageddon and Nuclear terrorism. Who is to blame for continued tensions between the two neighbours? There is enough literature available on this issue. The immediate problem is that how can the threat of nuclear catastrophe be avoided? In other words how to deal with nuclear weapons in the sub-continent?

What is required is a constructive and balanced approach for dealing with nuclear weapons in the region that should be founded on the principles of recognition of the regional and international realities regarding the nuclear weapons proliferation in the current scenario. The nuclear deterrence versus nonproliferation debate in South Asia does not let situation get the better in the ongoing strategic competition between India and Pakistan. What's the proper approach? In the present regional environment, many analysts think that Nuclear Confidence Building Measures (hereafter referred to as NCBMs) approach between India and Pakistan is a feasible mean to deal with nuclear weapons danger in the region. The NCBMs between India and Pakistan increase openness and transparency in military activities and in arms acquisitions, thus increasing the predictability of each other's actions and behaviour. It is also believed that under the NCBMs arrangement, normal military activities would not mistakenly perceived as threatening. In addition, military activities that do pose a threat are immediately identifiable as out of the ordinary, allowing time for a state to seek clarification or react militarily if necessary.

New Delhi Nuclear CBMs

On June 19, 2004 after the first round of discussion in Delhi, both India and Pakistan officials expressed opti-

mism about the outcomes of the talks. They said the talks were cordial and constructive, adding that they were looking to advance the peace process. A joint statement issued after the first round of talks stated that they "identified areas of convergence". It also added that "they also exchanged views on their respective security concepts and nuclear doctrines, and agreed to elaborate and work towards the confidence-building measures."³

On June 20, 2004, second round of discussion took place between India and Pakistan. The officials of India and Pakistan discussed/agreed on the following issues:

1. A dedicated and secure hotline would be established between the two foreign secretaries, through their respective Foreign Offices to prevent misunderstanding and reduce risks relevant to nuclear issues.

2. They decided to work towards concluding an agreement with technical parameters on pre-notification of flight testing of missiles, a draft of which was handed over by the Indian side.

3. Each side reaffirmed its unilateral moratorium on conducting further nuclear explosions unless, in exercise of national sovereignty, it decides that extraordinary events have jeopardized its supreme interests.

4. They would continue to engage in bilateral discussions and hold further meetings to work towards implementation of the Lahore Memorandum of Understanding of 1999 reached between then Prime Ministers Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Nawaz Sharif.

5. They would continue to engage in bilateral consultations on security and non-proliferation issues within the context of negotiations on these issues in multilateral fora.

6. They recognized that the nuclear capabilities of each other, which are based on their national

security imperatives, constitute a factor for stability.

7. They would be committed to national measures to reduce the risks of accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons under their respective controls and to adopt bilateral notification measures and mechanisms to prevent misunderstanding and misinterpretations.

8. They declared that they would be committed for working towards strategic stability and reiterated they were conscious of their obligation to their peoples and the international community.

Critical Analysis

The June 2004 New Delhi talks show that India and Pakistan are well set on the path of nuclear stability. It is impressive that both sides have recognized the nuclear capabilities of each other, which are based on their national security imperatives. They admitted that their nuclear weapons capability constitute a factor for stability between them. This realization strengthens the nuclear deterrence between the belligerent neighbors. Therefore, both sides have recognized that they have to work on nuclear stability and risk reduction for their own sake. Moreover, it is helpful that both sides didn't reject the earlier nuclear related understanding between them. According to the joint statement, India and Pakistan would return to the unfinished agenda of the Lahore Summit. In February 1999 during the Lahore summit, the landmark attempt was made to deal efficaciously with nuclear weapons in South Asia. India and Pakistan agreed on number of issues and they issued a joint declaration committing both sides to a peaceful resolution of outstanding issues including Kashmir and decided to work for conclusive measures in nuclear arms control. The Lahore Declaration signifies both nations desire to manage the nuclear standoff in South Asia in a responsible and

mature manner. Nevertheless, New Delhi and Islamabad have to formalize Lahore Memorandum Of Understanding. In short, their reference to earlier arrangement is a positive development in sphere of nuclear risk reduction between India and Pakistan.

The most important agreement in the Delhi talks was an establishment of hot line to counter the accidental use of nuclear weapons. Indian foreign ministry spokesman Navtej Sarna said the hotline would alert Indian and Pakistani officials of potential nuclear threats or accidents. Admittedly, the communication systems form a necessary backbone for threat-reduction and monitoring. Therefore, it seem important that New Delhi and Islamabad instead of relying on the Hotline mechanism, they would establish Nuclear Risk Reduction Centres (NRRCs) in their capitals and a special facsimile communications link between these centres. The centres are intended to supplement existing means of communication and provide direct, reliable, high-speed systems for the transmission of notifications and communications at the government-to-government level.

The centres would communicate by direct satellite links that could rapidly transmit full texts and graphics. In addition, NRRCs could be manned by mixed groups of officials from both sides to defuse crises before they erupted. In this respect, the centres would have a communications capability very similar to—but separate from—the modernized "hot line", normally reserved for heads of government.

The NRRCs would serve an effective, exclusive and dedicated technical means of official communication for exchanging rapid, accurate, and factual information. This could help prevent misperception or unintended reactions that could lead to accidental or inadvertent escalation. The second element of NRRCs may be a verification mech-

anism, which could prove essential in building trust. It may include observers or inspectors to physically verify the authenticity of intelligence when there is doubt. Certainly, it could set a positive precedent by incorporating transparency and verification measures into military procedures. Consequently, it could serve to build trust and confidence between the two sides.⁴

Importantly, despite the historic animosity, New Delhi and Islamabad has joined hands to make an indirect criticism of other Nuclear weapon states, which have expressed concern about the stability of the developing nations' nuclear arsenals. This approach to counter the international propaganda against both sides' nuclear weapons arsenals and their responsible behaviour would enhance the prestige of both states. At the same time it would establish that nuclear weapons in India and Pakistan are secure.

Conclusion

The talks on nuclear issues were the first negotiations held between New Delhi and Islamabad since a new Congress government came to power in India on May 22, 2004. These talks have manifested that the Prime Minister Dr Manmohn Singh government would carry on the peace process between India and Pakistan, which was initiated by the former Prime Minister A P Vajpayee government. The outcomes of June 19-20 talks are encouraging. They would play a vital role in establishing strategic stability in the region. But the durability of strategic stability between India and Pakistan demands more bold CBMs between the antagonist neighbors. They have to launch a broader military-strategic dialogue that would avoid the prospect of even a conventional war in the subcontinent. In this context, Pakistan's proposal for no war pact seems adequate for addressing the present strategic challenges to India and Pakistan.

Importantly, the credibility and working of the bilateral agreements between India and Pakistan, requires an international or a regional facilitator, who monitors and makes non-biased judgement about the commitment and sincerity of both states with the bilateral agreements. Admittedly, India has a serious reservation about the international nuclear nonproliferation regime. Whereas, Pakistan's nuclear capability is India specific. Therefore, India's nuclear related decision(s) have a great impact on the nuclear policy of Pakistan. For instance, in the first week of June 2004, the President of Pakistan once again reiterated his earlier offer to India that he was prepared to reduce his nuclear arsenals, if India did the same. He told Al-Arabiya news channel, "We don't have any world wide military ambitions. We maintain a force for deterrence ... If there is a discussion or a deliberation (with India) on mutual reduction, we have been saying that let's make South Asia a nuclear-free zone".⁵ Therefore, if India does not accept international facilitator, the facilitator must be a group of regional states, whose securities have been jeopardized by the overt nuclearization of India and Pakistan. In fact, they have a legitimate interest in avoiding the nuclear risks in South Asia.

In sum, its imperative that both India and Pakistan move from an adversarial to a cooperative rela-

tionship to undertake conventional as well as nuclear restraint measures for a sustainable and durable peace in the region.

End Notes

¹Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, told reporters on October 11, 2001 that Kashmir "is the most dangerous place in the world". "Kashmir Most Dangerous Place: US", Times of India, October 12, 2001. See also Raju G.C. Thomas, "Whither Nuclear India?" in D. R. Sar Desai and Raju G. C. Thomas, Nuclear India in the Twenty-First Century (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2002), pp. 4-5.

²Chris Gagne, "Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia: Building on Common Ground", in Michael Krepon and Chris Gagne, ed., The Stability-Instability Paradox: Nuclear Weapons and Brinkmanship in South Asia, Report No. 38 (Washington, D.C.: The Henry L. Stimson Center, June 2001), p. 40.

³"India-Pakistan push for security", BBC News, June 19, 2004, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/3821121.stm, accessed on June 19, 2004.

⁴Col. Rafi uz Zaman Khan, Pakistan and India: Can NRRCs Help Strengthen Peace?, Occasional Paper no. 49, Washington, D.C.: Henry L. Stimson Center, Dec 2002,

<http://www.stimson.org/southasia/pdf/nrrcsouthasia.pdf>

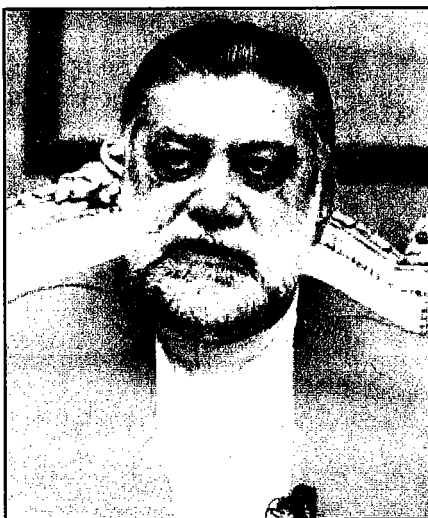
⁵"N-arsenal to be cut if India follows suit: Musharraf urges peace in region", Dawn, June 5, 2004. ♦

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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Dr Arbab Ghulam Rahim



Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali

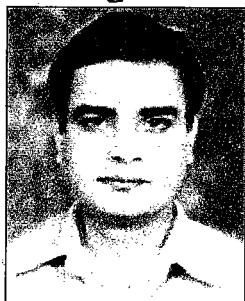


Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain

Socio-Politico Uncertainty

Columnist **MEHMOOD-UL-HASSAN KHAN** says that recent socio-political uncertainty in the country leads to geo-strategic dichotomy in the region. He analyses reasons, causes and effects.

Movers & Shakers of National Politics and Origin of Power



For the last two to three months political pundits and key members of the ruling coalition are busy to make rumours of major political change in the country. The Movers and Shakers are very active to play their trump

cards to win the essential sympathies from the origin of power in the country. After the severe sectarian violence in Karachi, the change was very much there in the politics of Karachi. In the result of thorough negotiation, secret overseas mission, back door diplomacy, bargaining tactics, among the power brokers at the centre and in the province of Sindh Dr. Arbab Ghulam Rahim has been sworn in as new chief minister. The Muttahida Qaumi Movement strongly rejected any chance of replacing of governor,

because they feel insecure after administrative and political arrangements in the province of Karachi.

It has been estimated that the outgoing Chief Minister of Sindh was not able to run the province properly. Some people have even commented that the most junior Chief Minister of Sindh in age also proved to be highly inexperienced and incompetent in running the province. He was not able to improve the law and order situation in his own district, his own constituency. Establishing law and order in Karachi, and other urban and rural centres were objectives for which he proved to be the least qualified. The people of Sindh are suffering and suffering very badly. The unemployment is increasing. The economic situation is deteriorating from bad to worse while the law and order situation has already become extremely alarming. The various administrations have failed to deliver. The province has largely been fed over the years on demagoguery and political clichés. The people of Sindh seriously need a political panacea, than a mere change in the name of the chief minister of the province.

Speculated Departure of Prime Minister of Pakistan

Some politicians are busy to spread the rumours of Mir Zafarullah Jamali's immediate departure. Intensified **"Battle of Nerves"** is being played in different corners of power and authority. Now it seems that Chaudhry Brothers are ready to defend Mr. Jamali's premiership not for the sake of **"System"**, **"Democracy"** but for their own **"Survival"** is very much on stake. The government may also go for mid-term elections.

Trends of Merger and Unification Of The Smaller Political Parties

Nowadays the trend of "Merger" is very common in the politics of Pakistan. National Alliance has been merged with the Muslim League (Q). The Patriot-PPP has completed its merger with Sherpau's PPP in the larger interest of the country. Earlier all the smaller factions of disintegrated Muslim League have been unified under the supervision/leadership of Chaudhry Shujaat the President of Muslim League (Q). The pundits of politics and black horse of bargaining predicted that earlier elections may be held and these preparations indicate some special message.

The National Finance Commission Award and the Differences of the Provinces

All the four provinces and especially Sindh are not ready to accept the new formula of NFC Award i.e. 47.5%. All the provinces have severe reservations of the proportionate mechanism of the NFC Award. The strict stance of Sindh and Punjab Chief Ministers on revenue collection and population could not bring any results. Finance Minister had asked NWFP and Balochistan to stay and fix

the amount of subsidies and grants for their next budgets. The provinces other than Sindh have agreed that a 90 percent weightage be given to population and the remaining 10 percent to multiple factors minus revenue collection. The bilateral rivalries between the provinces are also increasing and deepening. The tussle between the Punjab and NWFP on the issue of "Supply of Flour" "Greater Canal" & "Water Sharing Accord" between the Punjab and the Sindh, the unresolved issue of Royalty (Sui Gas & Electricity) between the Balochistan and other provinces are making life miserable to common people of this country.

The Chief Election Commissioner of Pakistan's Decision may hurt the Ruling coalition

In another interesting move the Chief Election Commissioner of Pakistan has declared seats of NA 240 Karachi-II, NA-246 Karachi-VIII and PS-127 Karachi XXXIX void after the recent held by-elections. The MQM has strongly rejected the decision of EC and demanded his immediate resignation. On that particular issue and persistent deteriorating law and order situation in the country and especially in Karachi the rift may occur

Nowadays the trend of "Merger" is very common in the politics of Pakistan. National Alliance has been merged with the Muslim League (Q). The Patriot-PPP has completed its merger with Sherpau's PPP in the larger interest of the country. Earlier all the smaller factions of disintegrated Muslim League have been unified under the supervision/leadership of Chaudhry Shujaat the President of Muslim League (Q).

The Uniform Phobia and National Politics

The "Uniform Issue" is also creating serious doubts in the national politics of the country. The majority of the politicians and speculators of the big power game are making every possible effort to destabilize the political system of the country. The President of Pakistan is sensible and matured enough to decide on the issue of uniform when time will come but geo-strategic and socio-political sovereignty and stability of the country should come first.

between the MQM and other coalition partners in the days to come.

The Nomination of Opposition Leader and Future of ARD

- I) Decision of FATA Members
- II) Possible reshuffling in the Punjab Cabinet
- III) Controversial Syllabus Issue

Maulana Fazlur Rahman has been nominated opposition leader. It is well planned move of the ruling party in order to divide the whole opposition strength. The ARD parties are very angry on the nomination of

Maulana Fazlur Rahman opposition leader who has lesser numbers than ARD's candidate. FATA members of National Assembly and senators have withdrawn their support to government on the issue of "Wana Operation". It is also predicated that reshuffling may also occur in the cabinet of Punjab. There is sentiments of hatred and enmity prevailing in the hearts and minds of hundred of thousands religious clerics on the issue of controversial syllabus introduced by the different provincial text boards. Gilgit has now become the playground of final designation of controversial syllabus war.

Operation Wana May Disturb Law & Order Situation

A trusted US ally Pakistan has become synonymous with playing with fire, and country now faces a stark choice: risk setting the country's tribal belt aflame, or watch the key commercial port city of Karachi burn. In April, the federal government deployed thousands of troops to South Waziristan, one of the seven tribal agencies, but in the face of stiff resistance from the local population, Pakistan's army chiefs concluded that "they simply cannot fight" their own people. The Washington became angry at Pakistan and demanded strife and stuff actions against the foreigners of Wana. The government imposed some form of economic sanctions on the people of South Waziristan. Now once again operation is going on and on in Wana.

In fierce clashes in the Ghat Ghar area, about 20 miles west of Wana, the main town in the South Waziristan tribal area, 18 Pakistani security troops and eight insurgents were killed. The most immediate target of Pakistan army is Nek Mohammed, a key Pakistani leader of the insurgency in the tribal areas. It is estimated that the paramilitary

or military forces have lost about 50 men in ongoing operation in Wana and many militants have also been killed or captured. But since the wanted men merge easily with the civilian population there, innocent tribal people have also been among the casualties. The government has been unable to establish its writ in South Waziristan despite an effort lasting over two months. According to latest reports heavy bombardment has started in South Waziristan. Heavy casualties are reported. Air strikes in Shakai is continued.

Rise in Sectarian Violence

The city of Quaid, Karachi is under siege of sectarian rift and violence. Karachi, as the new hub of Islamist radicalism, has been highlighted since the arrests of many Al Qaeda operatives and a series of bomb explosions and terrorist violence in that city. The pro-Taliban Sunni cleric and chief of the Binoria mosque in Karachi, Mufti Nizamuddin Shamzai was assassinated blasted the city of Karachi. Shamzai's assassination triggered mob violence in several localities of Karachi, including the Jamshed Quarters, Soldier Bazaar, Gulshan-e-Iqbal, Sohrab Goth, Quaidabad and North Karachi.

The assassination was followed by a bomb attack on the Shi'ite Ali Raza Imam Bargah mosque during evening prayers killed 22 people. The mosque was less than two kilometers from the seminary where Shamzai was killed. On May 7, a bomb killed 23 worshippers and wounded 125 at the Shi'ite Haideri Mosque in Karachi. The bomb blast virtually shut down Karachi, with all port operations suspended, as well as the stock exchange. Thousands of security personnel were deployed to control the crowd, and when police fired warning shots at some mourners they were stoned. There is very severe tussle

going on in the area of Gilgit. Local population has been divided on ethnic and sectarian grounds. Enlightened Moderation as termed by the President of Pakistan is not all working in the politics of Pakistan.

Ambush on Corps Commander of Karachi

It is first incident in the history of Pakistan that a corps commander has been attacked. It is alarming situation for not only Pakistan army but also newly appointed Chief Minister of Sindh. One of President General Pervez Musharraf's most trusted soldiers, Lieutenant-General Ahsan Saleem Hayat, Commander V Corps Karachi, survived an assassination attempt on morning when gunmen opened fire on his motorcade. At least six people were killed and 10 injured. It was the sixth deadly attack in Karachi in a month, and brings to 62 the number of people killed in the city since May '7. About 7 minutes after the attack, a bomb exploded near where the corps commander's convoy had been attacked. It appeared that the plan had been to first bomb the motorcade, and when it came to a halt, rake it with gunfire. Seemingly, the bomb went off late. No arrests have been made and no group has claimed responsibility. With corps commander's attack in Karachi, a clear message has been sent to all units in the Pakistani armed forces that in future government's decisions will not go unchallenged. There was absolutely no ground to target corps commander on personal grounds. He was simply chosen as a potential sacrificial offering by the perpetrators to get their message across to the President of Pakistan that not everyone is marching in time with him. According to latest reports, accused responsible for attack on corps commander has been arrested.

Chronology of Attacks in Karachi

Sr. No	Date	Nature of Incidence
1	MAY 7	A suicide bomber attacks a jam-packed Shia mosque, killing 23 parishioners.
2	MAY 8	One person is killed in protests over the killing of 23 parishioners.
3	MAY 25	A parcel bomb blows up at the gate of the Karachi port, killing two people.
4	MAY 26	Two car bombs explode within 20 minutes of each other outside the Pakistan-American Cultural Centre and near the US Consul General's residence, killing one policeman and injuring more than 10 people, mainly policemen and journalists.
5	MAY 30	A religious intellectual, Mufti Shamzai, is assassinated in his car while leaving his home.
6	MAY 31	A suicide bomber blows up a Shia mosque in the middle of evening prayers, killing 21 worshippers. Two people are killed in riots over the mosque attack and Shamzai's assassination.
7	JUNE 10	Gunmen open fire on a convoy carrying the corps commander of Karachi, killing seven soldiers, three policemen and a pedestrian.

Increasing Terrorist Activities and Economy

Terrorism is now viewed as a critical variable influencing economic development and its course in various parts of the world in general and in Pakistan in particular. In Pakistan, it is now widely believed to be a significant variable influencing the investment and thereby the GDP growth and economic development. Recently, Ambassador of Russia showed his worries on the increase of terrorist activities in Pakistan, which is damaging the investment-friendly image of Pakistan. In the recent month and previous month stock exchanges of the country dashed to the ground due to such horrible terrorist activities in the country. According to Pakistan Economic Survey (2003-04) Trade deficit has increased. Inflation has also increased. The ratios of poverty have also increased. Only 32% population is excess to education, health and clean water facilities in

the country and one of the main hurdle to achieve sustainable economic growth is terrorism.

Increasing Living Cost In The Country

The cost of living is increasing sharply in Pakistan. The Consumer Price Index reveals that the inflation during the year shot up by 7.13 percent in the previous month of May and by 4.22 percent during the

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entire financial year 2003-04 as against 3.9 percent of the year 2002-03. The decision to cut a few paises in electricity price seems insufficient with the poverty-ridden people of this country. Government should reduce the surcharge, additional surcharge, fuel adjustment charges and a number of other charges in order to give some meaningful relief to the common people of this country.

Sr. No.	Utility	1998	2004	% Change
1	Electricity (Rs./unit up to 100 units)	0.77	3.9	406
2	Gas (Rs./Mil BTU)	79.7	171.6	115
3	Petroleum(Rs./ litre)	17.75	36.6	106

Power, gas and telephone tariff during last three years have gone from the reach of middle and lower class people. The bills of the utilities are confusing with the different levies, including sales tax, withholding tax, energy charges, development tax etc. the reduction in the power tariff and POL prices have been joke with the poor people as only few piasas were reduced per unit.

Strong Anti-Taliban Wave in Afghanistan

There is fierce fighting going on throughout Afghanistan. Afghan authorities and US forces claim to have killed scores of Taliban rebels in 7 operations in mountainous Zabul province in Afghanistan. 73 Taliban fighters were killed and 13 captured while six Afghan government forces and four coalition soldiers were wounded and none killed. In another amazing and somehow, secretive development, at least 11 Chinese construction workers were shot dead in northern town of Kunduz.

New Nuclear Doctrine: India's Nuclear Appeal To Pakistan, China

India's new government has proposed a common nuclear doctrine with its nuclear-armed neighbours Pakistan and China. Newly appointed Foreign Minister Natwar Singh said that all three countries should be needed to discuss nuclear policy at the highest level. The government of Pakistan strongly appreciated the proposal and showed some reservations about its implementation mechanism. Harmonising nuclear policies of three powers is a huge task.

Name of the Country	Main objective of the nuclear weapons
China	To cope with the enveloping Russian and US pressures without forgetting Japan. It did not have India or South Asia in its mind.
Pakistan	To match with greater Indian's designs.
India	To check the increasing military powers of China and Pakistan

Nuclear weapons being an inseparable part of each country's foreign policy, the effort to evolve a common nuclear doctrine is very difficult task which requires lot of thoughts and concrete planning with having sense of mutual trust, respect for others national and territorial sovereignty, and above all militarily commitment along with political will.

Nuclear weapons of India, Pakistan and China are built for different purposes. Nuclear weapons being an inseparable part of each country's foreign policy, the effort to evolve a common nuclear doctrine is very difficult task which requires lot of thoughts and concrete planning with having sense of mutual trust, respect for others national and territorial sovereignty, and above all militarily commitment along with political will. In the emerging atmosphere of reconciliation Pakistan fired two Hataf V Ghauri missiles and India was also about to fire its missiles.

India has also become scared with imminent nuclear power on its

border, especially when Myanmar is run by the military. Myanmar's evident success in wooing North Korea to help it build a nuclear reactor has ruffled more than a few feathers among bureaucrats in India's Foreign Office at a time when a new foreign minister is trying to shape a new foreign policy. The bombshell that Myanmar has succeeded in wooing North Korea to supply it with nuclear-reactor technology came to the notice of Indian intelligence in mid-May but remained under wraps as the country was involved in general elections.

The common nuclear doctrine among Pakistan, China and India

would be benefited to entire South Asian people tend to check the short and long term geo-strategic and socio-politico objectives of America in Asia. Natwar's new proposal is a part of Nehru's legacy. His objectives appear to include a multi-polar and truly free world.

Bilateral Relationships With India After the Elections

There are some strong indications from both sides to have friendly and sustainable relationships between them. Singh indicated the readiness of India's new coalition government to move forward with the peace process on the divided region of Kashmir, which began with Islamabad more than a year ago. A series of talks with Pakistan on both Kashmir and nuclear weapons already have been scheduled. It is assessed that the new Indian government is adopting a non-aggressive tone toward its two nuclear-armed neighbours. The security advisor to the President of Pakistan has recently, visited India for some very special assignments.

New Government In Iraq

New government has been sworn in Iraq. The president of Iraq telephoned to the President of Pakistan for help and bilateral relationships. All the countries have accepted new resolution on Iraq at UNO. All the religious parties are opposing the Pakistan Army deployment in Iraq. But government of Pakistan is under great pressure on the issues of army deployment in Iraq and successful completion of Wana operations from the Americans.

Policies/Strategies Needs To Be Implemented

The war against terrorism has entered into final and decisive

stage. The government should go all out to eradicate the deep roots of sectarian violence and terrorism from our beloved land. Our land is not used for any kind of proxy war. Politics of compromises and bargaining should be discouraged at every stage/level. Mere change of personalities cannot change the fate of the poverty-ridden nation. Only concrete and integrated efforts, spirits of cooperation, forgiveness, sacrifice and above all preference of national interests on personal gains make this country a true land of happiness, peace and security.

The culture of creating political uncertainty, societal unrest, ethnicity and sectarian division propagation should be dealt with iron hands. Religious differences should be respected and culture of religious intolerance ought to be banned. The rise of democracy and

also very vital to counter onslaught of WTO in January 2005. System of intelligence needs to be improved enough to cope and penetrate in the circles of terrorists. National Ideology and image of religious fanatics must be altered.

Poverty is a menace. Government should utilize all its available resources to control the increasing ratios of poverty in the country. Otherwise, all the acclaimed economic achievements in 2003-2004 gather nothing in the eyes of the common people of the country. India's BJP lost the recent elections 2004 as revenge of poor people who voted against the acclaimed economic achievements of the government and persistent denial of necessities of life to farmers, common men, and poor people. The prices of common used commodities like wheat, rice, cooking oil should be controlled and checked.

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its true traditions need to be prevailed in our all-national institutions. Respect for political opponents must be preserved. Balanced strategies should be made to counter all the meaningful happenings in the region and around the globe. Improved bilateral relationships with India are the need of the hour. Bilateral trade with India is

The socio-politico scenarios are drastically changing in the country. All the stakeholders and power brokers in the political system should protect the "SYSTEM" rather than to pursue their own personal goals to gain power. The policy makers take all possible measures to make our country a strong nation. ♦

Defence of Pakistan

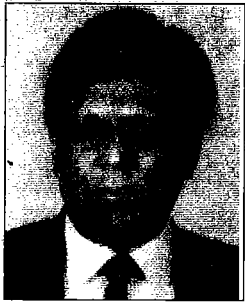
Columnist **JAMAL HUSSAIN** takes a fresh look at the military strategy of Pakistan in the changed environment.

*"Ask for my loyalty and I will give you my honesty.
Ask for my honesty and you will have my loyalty."*

Colonel John Boyd

Background

Changing Nature of Warfare



Warfare, over the centuries was waged to conquer and rule over other nations/races. The pattern changed after WWII and

since the middle of the 20th century warfare as a means of empire building has become a thing of the past. Modern warfare is concerned more with political outcomes than with seizing and holding grounds. The imperative to take and hold territories almost as an end in itself was valid for the majority of the pre-21st century warfare and the concept retains considerable force even today but it is no longer the only key to success. While seizing and holding grounds might still be the primary objective of many military actions, the political objectives of modern conflicts are more about protecting or projecting nations' vital interests than with expanding a state's frontiers.

Before the advent of air power in the beginning of the last century, the nature and pattern of warfare had been com-

prehensively studied and documented for over two millennia. Air power offered a new dimension to the nature of warfare but its full potential was not immediately obvious. By the end of the 20th century, air power had become the dominant force in the modern battlefield and the challenges to harness its fundamental characteristics remains the subject of significant evolution to this day. Air power now holds the key to success or failure of modern military campaigns.

India-Pakistan Conflicts – A Historical Perspective of the Pre-Nuclear Stage

In the South Asian context, the two major powers in the region have fought three wars since their independence in 1947 and have been constantly engaged in military skirmishes over the disputed territory of Kashmir, coming close to full-fledged armed conflicts on more than half a dozen occasions ever since.

Pakistan, in the first two decades of its existence had a genuine fear that its unfriendly and much larger neighbour might use its superior military might to undo the partition of India that led to an independent Pakistan. Its military alignment in the early fifties of the last century with the western powers, especially USA

was an attempt to redress its military inferiority to negate the Indian military superiority.

The India-Pakistan war of 1965 had ended in a stalemate and during the conflict USA severed military aid to both the warring factions. For Pakistan, whose entire military apparatus was built on the edifice of American military support, cessation of aid was a very cruel blow that weakened its military capability substantially. To compound matters further, the flawed national policies especially in the sixties decade alienated the people of its Eastern Wing and towards the end of the decade, an insurgency had broken out there. India took advantage of the situation and in a short sharp military campaign in 1971 it succeeded in severing Pakistan's Eastern Wing creating a new independent nation Bangladesh.

Nuclearisation of the Indian Sub-continent (The Age of Ambiguity)

It took four years for Pakistan to settle down after the trauma of 1971 war that had resulted in the loss of its Eastern Wing and as it was beginning to adjust to the new realities in the sub-continent, India exploded its first 'peaceful' nuclear device in 1974. With the Kashmir issue still unresolved and India holding three fourth of the state, Pakistan feared that India with its conventional superiority and the latent threat of nuclear blackmail would impose its hegemony and eventually force

Pakistan to accept the status quo in Kashmir as the final solution.

The quest for acquiring nuclear weapons by Pakistan became a matter of survival for the beleaguered nation. Its political and military leadership concluded that only a nuclear weapons capable Pakistan could prevent India from dismembering the rest of the country. This nuclear logic was similar to the one NATO had applied in Europe during the Cold War where nuclear weapons in the European theatre was used to check mate and deter the vast conventional force superiority of the Warsaw Pact nations.

Despite immense opposition, pressure and hurdles both in the military and economic fields Pakistan doggedly and clandestinely continued its quest for acquiring nuclear weapons technology and by 1985 it had succeeded in manufacturing and assembling nuclear weapons of the types that were used by USA in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. From 1985 to 1998, Pakistan followed the 'bomb in the basement', also referred to as the 'nuclear ambiguity' policy.

The Indian incursion in the Siachen Glaciers in Kashmir where they occupied the heights that had been under Pakistan was a clear violation of the Simla Agreement signed between India and Pakistan after the 1971 war that required both the nations to desist using force to alter the agreed upon line of control in Kashmir and attempt to resolve the issue peacefully through negotiations. Pakistan responded militarily to the Indian aggression and a costly and futile war albeit a limited one has been waging in Siachen since. A truce or temporary ceasefire is finally in place but troop withdrawal and a final solution is not in the offing despite several serious attempts by both sides to settle it through the political process.

As a result of Pakistan's forceful reaction in Siachen, in 1986, India amassed its forces close to the Pakistani border under the guise of peacetime exercise codenamed Brasstacks. Pakistan reacted aggressively by mobilising its own offensive and defensive elements. Eventually, the tension was defused and to many analysts, Pakistan's nuclear weapons capability was one of the factors that prevented the situation from getting out of control.

In 1989, due to the ham handed policies of the Indian government in their portion of Kashmir, an indigenous uprising against the Indian rule materialised. Pakistan announced political and moral support to the uprising terming it as a struggle for

Pakistan of fighting a proxy war and on more than one occasion in the 1990s. Tension was raised to a level where another round of India-Pakistan war appeared imminent. International pressure, and the fact that both sides were known to be in possession of nuclear devices, prevented further escalation.

The Post-Nuclear Weapons Explosion Scenario

Indian explosion of multiple nuclear devices on 11 May 1998 paved the way for Pakistan to overtly display its nuclear capability by exploding its own series of nuclear devices on 28 May 1998. The two neighbours in the Indian sub-conti-

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freedom. India accused Pakistan of aiding and abetting financially and militarily what they termed as 'terrorists'. The Indians pumped in massive number of troops to control the insurgency but was unable to quell the rebellion. The Kashmiri uprising too failed to persuade the Indian government to accede to their demands. Since then, over a hundred thousand have been killed or maimed on both sides, majority of them Kashmiris.

India continues to accuse

Pakistan had now gained official recognition as nuclear powered states.

The Kargil adventure in 1999 precipitated a fresh crisis when about a thousand 'freedom fighters' occupied the vacant Kargil Heights that had been under Indian possession since 1971 and had been temporarily vacated during the winter season. The occupation of the Heights by the freedom fighters badly disrupted the lines of communications to the Indian held Siachen. Crack Indian forces supported by

long-range artillery and the Indian Air Force using laser guided precision bombs were launched against the small but well entrenched occupiers of the heights. Despite fielding such a massive force the Indians suffered very heavy casualties and were not very successful in repossessing the Heights.

Faced with growing criticism at home for failing to protect Indian sovereignty and being unable to dislodge the aggressors, India threatened to escalate the conflict beyond Kargil that would have led to an all out conflict between two nuclear weapons possessing states. USA asked India to show restraint and by apparently showing restraint by not escalating the conflict beyond its own border, India convinced USA to put pressure on Pakistan to have the Heights vacated by forces that were under the control of Pakistan. Pakistan eventually succumbed to the intense US pressure and reined in the freedom fighters at a stage when India had managed to recapture only 10% of the lost Heights and their forces in Siachen were coming under intense pressure because of the interdiction the freedom fighters were causing along the main logistics route to the Siachen Heights. The nuclear factor this time worked in favour of India and averted another serious crisis.

The attack on the twin towers in New York on 11 September 2001 led to a massive US reprisal against Al-Qaeda and their supporters in Afghanistan. Pakistan because of its geographical proximity to Afghanistan was convinced by USA to become a key ally in the USA's military campaign in Afghanistan code-named 'Operation Enduring Freedom.' To the Indians, the return of the close relationship between USA and Pakistan was an ominous sign.

In a coincidence that has raised many eyebrows in Pakistan, the Indian parliament came under attack

by a handful of Kashmiri sympathizing 'terrorists' on 13 December 2001. India squarely blamed Pakistan and threatened to go to war if its list of ultimatums that virtually would have resolved the Kashmir issue in India's favour were not met. Pakistan refused to oblige and once again a crisis of serious proportion precipitated. India mobilised its entire armed forces and placed them in an extremely belligerent posture along the Pakistani border. Pakistan refused to blink and in return put its forces on full alert. For over eight months the forces of the two nations were eyeball to eyeball and one false step by either side could have led to a full-fledged war.

Intense international pressure again led by USA, this time leaning more on India eventually ended the stalemate. India eventually pulled its troops back and the war clouds dissipated much to the relief of the people of the region and of the whole world.

The Old Concept of Warfare in the Sub-continent

Pakistan being the smaller of the two states has lived under the fear of being militarily overwhelmed by its much larger and more powerful and antagonistic neighbour. Its threat perception has largely been based on military adventurism by India and it has developed its armed forces to counter such an eventuality.

Both India and Pakistan had adopted the continental warfare strategy where the army plays the dominant role and air and naval powers a supporting one. All the three major conflicts between the two were fought along those lines and even the present offensive and defensive doctrines of both are based on the premise that the aggressor will launch one main offensive effort supported by a number of infantry and armoured/mechanised

divisions with secondary or auxiliary efforts along other axes of similar composition but of a smaller magnitude. Air power was to be employed to protect own formations from attacks by the adversary's air force while providing classic direct and indirect support to the surface forces through attacks on their military formations. Use of offensive air power for conducting air strikes on the enemy's strategic forces and infrastructure were also envisioned. Land forces of both the nations by virtue of their pivotal roles and sheer size remain the dominant service, with naval and air power playing the second fiddle.

The Indian planned offensive in 2002 that eventually did not materialise was based on the old concept and the inability of India to carry out its threat should make it fairly obvious that in the nuclear environment that exists in the sub-continent the old concept of continental strategy where large formations are deployed, employed and manoeuvred to achieve the military objectives is no longer feasible.

The New Form of Warfare in the Sub-continent

Nuclearisation of the sub-continent has made a full scale war a remote, though not an extinct possibility. However, for as long as tension between the two nations does not subside, limited intensity or low intensity conflicts similar to the Siachen episode remains possible. For any number of factors, the Indian government in future might again come under pressure from their masses to take a tough line against Pakistan, and to appease them they might contemplate to undertake some form of military action against Pakistan for some alleged mischief that Pakistan may be accused of. For example, if the situation in the Indian held Kashmir

does not come under the Indian control, they will be more apt to hold Pakistan responsible for the state of affairs and would be tempted to take some punitive measures against them. This could be in the form of a limited land/air campaign especially in Kashmir, a quarantine operation against Pakistan's shipping or a punitive air strike against some sensitive targets in Pakistan. These being the likely nature of future conflicts between Pakistan and India, a re thinking of the Pakistan's defence strategy including its nuclear strategy has become imperative.

The Nuclear Strategy for Pakistan

Possession of nuclear weapons by Pakistan in as volatile a region as the South Asian Sub-Continent can be a double-edged sword. Given the intensity of mistrust that exists between the two nuclear-armed neighbours and the very little reaction time of a nuclear tipped missile launch, a slight miscalculation or misunderstanding by either side could lead to a nuclear holocaust in the region. A nuclear conflagration could also occur due to an accidental or an unauthorised launch, unless firm and foolproof command and control systems are in place with both the nations. In addition, for Pakistan specifically, preventing proliferation of its nuclear assets or nuclear technology has become absolutely essential. Any suspicion by USA that Pakistan's nuclear assets or nuclear weapons know-how is being exported to other nations or groups will lead to very serious consequences.

The very first pillar of Pakistan's nuclear doctrine would be to establish a foolproof command and control system where unauthorised or accidental firing is completely ruled out. And because of the sensitivity of USA of Pakistan's nuclear weapons

or technology falling into the wrong hands, Pakistan must not only ensure that no nuclear weapons or nuclear technology proliferation takes place but any misperceptions in this regard must also be quickly and effectively dispelled.

Since Pakistan's quest for nuclear weapons was primarily driven by its concern of the threat that Indian conventional military might pose, its nuclear deterrence has to be of the 'active' or type II nature. This implies that its nuclear weapons are meant to deter both the adversary's nuclear and conventional threats. Under this doc-

be used. The adversary has to be made aware that if this threshold is crossed, a nuclear response might come into play.

Can the nuclear threshold be quantified in terms of territories lost or the level of destruction of the armed forces and if this is possible, should this threshold be made known to the enemy or kept secret? These aspects continue to be subject of heated debates and there are no simple answers. The one aspect that experts agree on is that greater the disparity between conventional forces of the two antagonists, the lower will be the nuclear threshold of

Given the intensity of mistrust that exists between the two nuclear-armed neighbours and the very little reaction time of a nuclear tipped missile launch, a slight miscalculation or misunderstanding by either side could lead to a nuclear holocaust in the region. A nuclear conflagration could also occur due to an accidental or an unauthorised launch.

trine, repudiation of first strike by nuclear weapons by Pakistan is not an option. A clear and unambiguous message has to be communicated to the enemy that if Pakistan's core interests gets threatened due to any action conventional or unconventional, Pakistan reserves the right to retaliate with all means at its disposal. Such a doctrine implies the right of first strike option but only when the security of the state is being compromised.

Here the concept of nuclear threshold comes into play, meaning thereby the level of destruction beyond which nuclear weapons will

the weaker side. Conventional forces therefore continue to be relevant in a nuclear environment because without them the nuclear threshold will become very low making the entire nuclear deterrence unstable, especially where instability exists.

From the theory of nuclear deterrence we know that a nuclear deterrence can only be in place if one has the 2nd strike capability (of nuclear weapons). Put simply, you must be able to absorb a first, perhaps pre-emptive strike on your nuclear assets and have enough survivable weapons to ensure a strong retaliatory response. By implication there-

fore you need a sufficient number of weapons well dispersed and have more than one delivery mode that would make it extremely difficult, if not impossible for the enemy to think that its pre-emptive strike can deny you the 2nd strike capability.

Presently, Pakistan presumably has two delivery modes for its nuclear arsenal: nuclear weapons carriage capable strike aircraft and ballistic missiles. Nuclear-armed aircraft offer greater flexibility because unlike ballistic missiles, they can be recalled even after launch. Aircraft, when their number is sufficient, because of their mobility can be well dispersed and made less vulnerable to enemy attack than the not so mobile missiles. Their range however is limited and they are more vulnerable to enemy air defence network as compared to ballistic missiles.

Ballistic missiles on the other hand can have much greater ranges than most strike aircraft and in the case of Pakistan, its medium range missiles can cover almost the entire length and breadth of India, which their strike aircraft do not. Ballistic missiles are also much more difficult to intercept and even the sophisticated Anti-Ballistic Missile defence systems like the US Patriot cannot guarantee a hundred percent result. Since, in the nuclear game even a handful of nuclear weapons can cause havoc, ballistic missiles are by far the most efficient method of conducting nuclear strikes. Pakistan's combination of aircraft and short and medium range ballistic missiles should act as sufficient deterrence against India.

The number of nuclear weapons Pakistan needs to ensure credible deterrence would depend on a number of factors. Enemy's first strike capability against its aircraft, ballistic missiles and nuclear weapons stockpile is an important consideration.

And it in turn would dictate the minimum number of nuclear weapons that Pakistan must possess. The effectiveness of enemy air defence network is another factor, which will determine the minimum number. And finally the level of destruction that Pakistan would like to achieve in a 2nd strike would have a bearing on the final figure. During the Cold War era, USA for example planned to destroy 30% of the Soviet population, 50% of their infrastructure in a retaliatory strike. This massive level of retaliation led to a figure of over 10,000 nuclear warheads that USA had assembled and deployed. Pakistan's retaliatory strike aims would be of a much lower magnitude to ensure that it does not need to produce thousands or even hundreds of nuclear warheads.

While aircraft and land based nuclear missiles in tandem provide an effective deterrence against India, the ultimate second-strike capability can only be achieved by development of the Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBM) capability, which would form the third leg of the triad. Only SLBMs can give Pakistan some degree of deterrence against forces far more powerful and sophisticated than those of India.

SLBMs would require much smaller and sophisticated nuclear warheads that can be fitted in the conventional submarines that Pakistan possesses. Development of miniature warheads would appear to be the next logical step in Pakistan's nuclear strategy. These small nuclear weapons can also be planned to be deployed as tactical nuclear weapons. Since the larger nuclear warheads deter wars only at the grand level, the smaller tactical nuclear weapons when planned to be used against conventional forces will produce a greater deterrence even against

relatively smaller scale campaigns.

SLBM capability and development of tactical nuclear weapons should be the next benchmark for Pakistan to strive for. Only then a true nuclear deterrence against India and a degree of deterrence against the advanced nations can be achieved.

Defence Strategy for the Armed Forces of Pakistan

Pakistan Army

While there are some states without a navy or an air force, they all are in possession of land forces of various denominations. Armies, as the land forces are generally referred as, perform multifarious roles. While defending the nation from external aggression is their primary mission, they also have an important task of aiding the civil administration to quell major civil disturbances or during natural calamities such as earthquakes, floods, hurricanes etc.

Pakistan inherited a small sized army at the time of independence comprising about 150,000 officers and men, whereas Indian military strength amounted to around 311,000, a ratio of a little over 1:2 in favour of India. Within a year, the Pakistan Army was engaged in the first India-Pakistan war of 1948 over Kashmir. The war proved inconclusive and a truce was declared where a political solution through the good offices of UNO was sought. UN Resolution 47 called for a plebiscite in the disputed state – a plebiscite that for all practical purposes would have led to the accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan. At the time of ceasefire, India held two third of the state and it was in no mood to surrender any part of it to Pakistan. It refused to implement the UN Resolution on

one pretext or the other. The two nations have since been in a state of tension that led to another major war of 1965, and numerous skirmishes where the Siachen and Kargil episodes stand out.

Being the weaker of the two, Pakistan has since 1948 adopted a strategically defensive and tactically offensive posture against India. To implement this strategy it had to ensure that its Army's numerical inferiority against Indian Army remains around the ratio of 1:2. As India continued to expand its land forces, Pakistan had to match it to keep the ratio from deteriorating below the manageable level. Today India has an army of over one million and Pakistan about half a million strong. While the economic burden on both the impoverished nations is tremendous, for Pakistan, which is about one-seventh the size of India in population and one-fifth in resources, maintaining a force ratio of 1:2 is far more detrimental to its economy. Now that Pakistan has achieved the active nuclear deterrence, it can afford to take a fresh look at whether the compulsion of maintaining a 1:2 ratio is still valid. And if not, what should be the optimum size of its land forces as compared to that of India where a credible conventional deterrence can be achieved that in turn would keep the nuclear threshold at a relatively high level.

The failed Indian experience of Brasstacks in 1986 and of 2002 when India had placed its armed forces on the border with Pakistan makes it abundantly clear that with a credible nuclear deterrence in place, a full scale war with Pakistan having major political objectives is no longer a realistic option with India. However, a short sharp operation with limited political and military objectives, in the opinion of the Indian military strategists, is

in the realm of possibility. The current Indian thinking on this subject outlines this thought process very clearly. They intend to raise highly mobile, fully mechanised formations having full air support, capable of striking swiftly and successfully to gain specific military objectives without breaching Pakistan's nuclear threshold. They have concluded that in the nuclear environment prevailing in the sub-continent, this is the only realistic military course of action. Any major military campaign that requires large-scale troop deployment and takes over a week to complete will not be feasible because of the current international environment. Is Pakistan Army prepared to meet the new set of challenges?

To counter a short and swift campaign in Kashmir sector, the very first objective of Pakistan is to avoid being surprised. Tactical and strategic intelligence will be a critical factor. The status of tactical and strategic trans-border intelligence within ISI should be raised with the focus on the Kashmir valley. The eleventh September attack on New York twin towers was a result of US intelligence failure that was not due to lack of data but because the supposed wall which prevented flow of data from one agency to the other (CIA and FBI). Pakistan too needs to learn a lesson and break down any walls among various intelligence agencies within the services and with the ones operating under the federal and provincial government.

Mobility and accurate fire power is key to success in any form of mountain warfare. Quick ground redeployment of troops in hilly regions is not a feasible option. Only through heliborne operations and in some cases para-dropping of troops will it be possible to reinforce a threatened sector in time.

The Strategic Reserve forces of Pakistan Army are a very potent force. Within this force, quick reaction units need to be raised that can be heli lifted to reinforce threatened sectors at a short notice. These troops should be well trained in mountain warfare and should be equipped to conduct night operations as well. Raising of a heliborne brigade or division side force with all the necessary training and equipment to undertake mountainous warfare has become a necessary requirement in the prevailing threat scenario.

Since large scale manoeuvre battle is the least likely hypothesis in the present environment, Pakistan Army needs to re-evaluate its number of troops and its order of battle. Since a degree of safety is now available because of its nuclear deterrence, the compulsion of matching the Indian military build up may no longer be necessary.

Should the study indicate that Pakistan Army can reduce its overall numerical strength and still maintain the desired level of deterrence, the reduction should be undertaken over a length of time and in a phased manner. The finances saved as a result would help offset the increase in expenses that will accrue for raising a quick reaction heliborne brigade/division.

To summarise, the following actions are recommended for consideration by the Pakistan Army:

- a. Re-examine the intelligence set up to make the trans-border intelligence even more effective. Also, in coordination with the PN, PAF and provincial intelligence agencies break down any walls that may impede transfer, collation and analyses of data.
- b. Raise a quick action brigade/division by converting one of

the strategic brigade/division and give it heliborne deployment capability.

- c. Re-examine the current strength of the Army and recommend necessary changes in light of the nuclear deterrence that is in place.

Pakistan Navy

In the prevailing nuclear environment, Pakistan Navy has a more critical role to play than had been envisioned under the old continental strategy.

The bipolar world ended with the demise of USSR and with USA being the sole superpower of today's world, the developing world has come under increasing pressure of conforming with the policies of USA. Some degree of deterrence against the lone superpower is necessary if one is to avoid being run over rough shod as the world has witnessed in Iraq. Would USA have treated Iraq in the cavalier manner it did in 2003 if it had nuclear weapons? Perhaps not. The kid glove manner it is handling North Korea whose nuclear weapons possession is only suspected provides some clue.

Pakistan is a declared nuclear state but its deterrence is effective only against India. Against the western powers, and even against USA, only the SLBM capability will give it some degree of deterrence against them. If SLBMs are successfully installed on the current generation of submarines that Pakistan possesses, its deterrence against India would be considerably enhanced and would be effective in a limited manner even against the lone superpower. With Pakistan's nuclear weapons armed submarine lurking virtually undetected in the Indian Ocean, would USA have the liberty of lining up its aircraft carrier groups within striking range of Pakistan, the

way it operated against Iraq? Even the assembly of a strike force of US Army and Marine formations as was witnessed against Iraq would be within the range of SLBMs.

Besides a limited land/air offensive, blockade and quarantine are two naval operations India can choose to exercise as a coercive measure against Pakistan. Of the two, blockade is an act of war and would be more difficult to impose as it would severely disrupt the very busy international shipping that passes through the region. Quarantine on the other hand is officially not an act of war, is easier to implement and would have less impact on the international ship-

The first priority of the government of Pakistan should be to encourage the growth of merchant shipping industry in Pakistan both at the national level and in the private sector. Reduced dependence on foreign shipping companies would lessen the impact of a quarantine declaration by India.

To deter India from imposing any sort of quarantine, Pakistan must make it absolutely clear to India that any such step on its part would be considered an act of war and Pakistan reserved the right to combat it with all the might at its disposal. To provide further deterrence, possession of strong retaliatory action

The mere declaration of quarantine without even its effective implementation would have an adverse impact on Pakistan's economy as 90% of its seaborne trade is being conducted by foreign shipping companies. These companies would either suspend their operation or put very heavy insurance surcharge putting Pakistan's economy under severe pressure.

ping lanes provided it is conducted in a discrete manner. Quarantine therefore is the more likely course of action India might decide to adopt if it decides to take some naval actions to put Pakistan under pressure.

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against the forces trying to implement quarantine becomes imperative for the Pakistan Navy. It must continue to build up its aerial surveillance along with its own ASV capability. Further strengthening of longer range PAF strike aircraft capable of conducting ASV missions would also enhance PN's effort in this field. And finally its fleet of submarines should continue to pose a serious threat to the quarantine enforcing fleet of Indian Navy. These are the areas of expertise that Pakistan Navy should continue to enhance.

Air power both in the shape of naval air power and the air force plays

a crucial role in almost any form of modern naval operations. Pakistan Navy's indigenous naval air arm comprising fixed and rotary and fixed wing aircraft capable of carrying out surveillance and ASV missions will play a crucial role in any future naval operations in the region. PAF's ASV capable multi-role aircraft and its interceptor elements along with the combined air defence elements of the three services will also figure prominently. Close air-naval cooperation for optimum utilisation of scarce resources must remain an essential feature in Pakistan's overall strategy to counter any Indian offensive naval operations.

Pakistan Air Force

Besides land/air offensive and the option of quarantine, India can exercise the offensive element of its air power to conduct surgical strikes at targets of their choosing. Such an act can be conducted independent of any other military action. In fact, if India decides that some form of military punitive measure is required to be conducted against Pakistan, surgical strikes would be the most preferred option because as compared to land/air campaigns or quarantine, it can be implemented with minimum delay. It can also be implemented quickly before the international players have a chance to intervene.

The events of 13 December 2002 and the Indian reaction to it is a case in point. Mobilisation of the entire armed forces and trying to coerce Pakistan by putting the forces in an extremely offensive posture achieved little for India and it cost her dearly both on the economic and political front. In a similar situation in future, India can put Pakistan under pressure by just preparing and positioning their strike elements of its air force on forward locations ready to launch a surprise attack at a short notice. Decision to call off the aggressive intent can also be done without incurring any serious economic or political fall out.

In modern warfare even at the limited level, air power plays a central role. No modern land or naval campaign of a reasonable magnitude can be visualised without the employment of air power but air power in some instances can and have operate independent of the other two services. Attacks on Iraq's nuclear facility at Osirak by Israel in 1981 and on Libya by USAF in 1986 are cases in point.

PAF's first aim must be to build a strong air defence that should be able to exact a heavy price from any Indian strike package that attempts to violate Pakistani air space. Air defence has the active and passive elements and within the active element, there are two aspects: airborne interceptor force and ground based air defences. A balanced air defence set up with the interceptors playing the key role is an absolute must for the PAF.

So far, despite resource constraints and numerous embargoes, PAF has managed to maintain a credible deterrence against the IAF. The acquisition of the SU 30 aircraft and the Beyond Visual Range Missiles by the IAF and its absence with the PAF had given IAF an edge in air combat that holds the key to winning or denying control of the air. The latest addition to the IAF inventory of AEW&C capability in the form of acquisition of Israeli Phantom airborne radar system has aggravated the problem further. When the induction of the fleet of SU30s and AEW&C platforms is completed, PAF would find it hard to challenge IAF's offensive potential unless its fleet is also modernised.

Acquisition of modern swing role combat aircraft and BVR capability has become essential if the PAF is to maintain its credibility against the IAF. The government of Pakistan is cognizant of the seriousness of the issue and steps are in hand to equip PAF with BVR missiles. As far as acquisition of modern fighters is concerned, PAF realises that modern combat aircraft of the class of USA's F-22 Raptor or the French Rafael

are too expensive and appear to be beyond the country's financial reach. As an alternate, PAF has been engaged in co-production of the JF-17 fighter/interceptors. The programme is making good progress and once inducted, it would help to reduce the imbalance to some extent. Acquisition of AEW&C capability is also on a high priority list of the PAF and hopefully progress on this field will take place.

While air defence will be central to PAF's strategy, a reasonably potent offensive capability both in the conventional and non-conventional weapons would be very desirable.

In the balance of air power that exists between India and Pakistan, neither side can really hope to neutralize the offensive potential of the other fully. Strikes from both sides will get through and will be capable of causing substantial damage to both military targets and key infrastructures. Similar to the deterrence philosophy of nuclear weapons, possession of an effective strike force by the PAF that can retaliate in kind is the sole guarantee that IAF would avoid targeting key economical and civilian targets. Both during the 1965 and 1971 wars, neither side deliberately targeted the civilian population as they were aware that the other side could pay them back in the same coin.

Strategic bombing or strategic missions by the air force conjures up visions of either mass bomber raids of the magnitude that was witnessed during WWII, or the modern USAF B-1 and B-2 bombers that can fly half way across the globe and hit any target with precision and lethal fire power. Can small air forces like the PAF hope to attain strategic bombing capability?

To begin with, the very definition of the term strategic air warfare varies and the concept has remarkably wide usage. This broad definition of the term has led to blurring of its meaning and has given rise to issues that do

become contentious at times.

For the sake of simplicity, my definition of strategic air strikes is those that require minimal coordination with other services and their effect impacts the progressive destruction of enemy's warring capabilities. I have purposely avoided the term 'independent of' as eventually all military actions must be subordinated to the ultimate political objectives and no matter how unrelated they may appear to the role of the other services, it cannot be independent of them.

"Strategic quality of a particular air operation", according to Shaun Clarke, "is defined not by the target, the platform, nor the distance flown but by the objective of the mission."

For small air forces like the PAF, strategic air power roles will have much lower objectives than of nations which can field large air forces. In today's scenario, only USAF and NATO air power can aim at annihilation or capitulation of the adversary through strategic air strikes. For others, gaining some concessions or inflicting enough damage to beat back the enemy offensive through the use of offensive air power would suffice. Within this context, even small nations can have strategic roles. One way of achieving this objective is, as Captain Liddle Hart puts it "pick out your opponent's weak spot and hit him with all the possible force, whilst at the same time guarding against the risk that he may knock you out instead".

While strategic strike forces that USA and NATO possess are way beyond Pakistan's financial resources, a small but potent strike element that can severely hurt the Indian economy by attacking and destroying/damaging key infrastructural base of India must form an integral part of the PAF.

Finally, in the South Asian Sub-Continent in the 21st century, the conventional military balance between India and Pakistan will not be determined by the size and capabilities of their armies or navies but more and

more by their air forces. IAF's intense modernisation programme makes it clear that India seems to have absorbed this lesson. Pakistan and the PAF cannot afford to lag behind.

Conclusion

Military doctrines and strategies are based on the correct appreciation of the situation. Pakistan too, had based its defence policy and strategy on a set of assumptions. The last quarter of the 20th century has witnessed a revolution in the art of military warfare, especially in the role of air power. In addition, in the South Asian Sub-Continent the introduction of nuclear weapons has brought about a major change in the political and military environment of the region. Yet, the old paradigm of warfare remains practically unaltered.

Since 1990, the world is a witness to the domination of air power in five major operations (Desert Storm 1991, Deliberate Force 1995, Allied Force 1999, Enduring Freedom 2001 and Gulf War II 2003), yet the continental strategy followed in the Indian sub-continent has been barely modified. The region has now been nuclearised and the impact of nuclear weapons on the lack of freedom of either side to indulge in total warfare has been repeatedly demonstrated during various crises yet both India and Pakistan continue to field large land forces, much beyond their respective financial capabilities to bear. Again, in all the major operations since 1991, the absolute necessity of joint operations has been brought out in no uncertain terms, yet both India and Pakistan, while continuing to pay lip service to the importance of joint operations, have only made cosmetic changes to the way the three services operate. There is a need for a fresh appreciation and on its basis an overhaul of the current doctrine is long overdue.

An honest appraisal of the changed environment is critical but that is only a means to the end. Only by faithfully implementing the required changes can one benefit from the whole exercise. Altering set ways is easier said than done and herein lie the greatest challenge for the armed forces. Military mind set is conservative by nature and are normally reluctant to make major alterations in the way they conduct business. And when the suggested alterations lead to structural changes that would alter the turf of one service or the other, the opposition becomes fierce.

Numerous earlier studies have brought out the lessons elaborated in this paper, yet there has been no significant reorientation of the defence doctrines and policies.

There is a dire need to acknowledge the changing environment and put in place alterations that will bring the military operations in line with the realities on ground. Let us not have to re-learn this painful lesson after another major debacle. ♦

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Air Cdre (Retd) Jamal Hussain was commissioned in the GD (P) branch of the PAF in 1966. During his career as a fighter pilot he has flown nearly all types of fighter aircraft of the PAF. He commanded a Mirage Squadron, a Composite Flying Wing and an Operational Flying Base. He is also a qualified flying instructor. Besides his operational experience, he is a graduate of Air Command and Staff College USA and National Degree College (NDC). He has also had the privilege of being an instructor in NDC and has served as the Commandant of Joint Services Staff College. At present Air Cdre (Retd) Jamal Hussain has recently taken over as the Director of the newly established Centre for Air Power Studies (CAPS) located at PAF Base Faisal.

Centre for Aerospace Power Studies Publications

No	Title
P 1	Air Commodore (Retd) Jamal Hussain, <u>Ownership of Air Power Assets</u> , October, 2001.
P 2	Air Commodore (Retd) Jamal Hussain, <u>Air Power Equation in the Middle East</u> , November, 2001.
P 3	Air Commodore (Retd) Jamal Hussain, <u>Role of Pakistan Aeronautical Complex in PAF's Struggle Towards Self-reliance</u> , November, 2001.
P 4	Air Commodore (Retd) Jamal Hussain, <u>Evolution of Air Power</u> , December, 2001.
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Restructuring Pakistan Army, fact or fiction?

Columnist Gp Capt (Retd) **S M HALI** examines the proposed reorganisation of the army.



"Pakistan Army's restructuring plan has been criticised by some local media circles". Thus complained Major

General Shaukat Sultan, Director General Inter Services Public Relations (ISPR) at an elaborate briefing for Senior Media Personnel from all over the country at the Artillery Officers Mess, Rawalpindi to present them a detailed overview of the ongoing Wana operations to flush out the Al-Qaeda operatives from the region.

The DG ISPR is right. Quite a few local dailies interpreted the restructuring plan only as a move to withdraw the soldiers serving as batmen from the Army officers and JCOs, replacing them by a special cadre of civilians called Non-Combatant Bearers, enrolled for the purpose. However, most of the Indian media, on the other hand has been downright contemptuous in its analysis, quoting Defence sources. Some of them are reproduced below.

The Indian Express in its 29 April 2004 issue remarked: "Lt. Gen (ret'd.) Vijay Oberoi, former Vice Chief of Army Staff, feels that 'a large part of Pakistan Army is presently employed in the civil sector which Musharraf is trying to settle permanently.' Oberoi is quick to point out that a significant chunk of the Pakistan military machine is designated as para-military: 'They have the Mujahid battalions and the Rangers which are actually under their Defence ministry. Even during the Kargil War, Pakistan used the Northern Light Infantry which was then not a regular.' The original author of Indian Army's new war doctrine (Cold Start), Oberoi says Pakistan will not be in a position to reduce its combat troops. 'All operations on its borders are manpower-intensive.' While Defence officials in Islamabad maintained that the restructuring plan was aimed at maintaining minimum conventional and nuclear deterrence against India, Oberoi rules out Pakistan's nuclear stance as anything more than deterrence. Agrees Air Marshal (Ret'd.) Vinod Patney, former Vice Chief of Air Staff: 'Nuclear weapons are more as a threat or deterrence.

But the nature of warfare has changed and downsizing and modernisation are essentially two sides of the same coin.'

The Tribune, in its editorial of 30 April 2004, titled: 'Downsized army—Musharraf's style of bluffing the world' is very unforgiving and typical of the Indian mindset. The daily observes, "Those who have been closely observing General Pervez Musharraf's style of functioning were expecting a formal announcement of the kind he made at the Field Commanders' Conference at Rawalpindi on Tuesday (27 April 2004), reducing the size of the five million strong Pakistan Army by 50,000. He had argued for minimising defence expenditure in the second week of March during his address to the *India Today* conclave in New Delhi, saying that this was essential for poverty alleviation programmes. But the General has not turned into a saint. He is still the chief of the Pakistan Army, and cannot be expected to ignore its interests. His plan is in accordance with the trend worldwide—maintaining a fine balance between the teeth and the tail of the armed forces without compromising their combat capability.

Yet this is not the whole truth. Immediately after the general captured power in a bloodless military coup he had sought financial aid from international institutions on the condition that he would not increase his country's defence budget beyond a certain limit. The troop reduction however appears to be aimed at not only satisfying the financial institutions but also seeking parity with India in terms of conventional weapons. Renewed efforts may be made to acquire the F-16 fighter planes from the US denied to Pakistan so far. There has been much uneasiness in Pakistan after India purchased the Falcons

from Israel and the Sukhoi-32 war-planes from Russia. The downsizing of the army may also be a part of General Musharraf's strategy to bring international pressure on India to act on these lines."

On 30th April 2004, *The Indian Express* comes up with another dimension: "The proposed cuts would be even more welcome if they were to be implemented from the army cadres manning the ISI. But the official announcement does not provide any scope for optimism in this direction. In fact what we are promised is a more 'lethal' army.

In all fairness, some pragmatic views have also appeared. *The Hindu* correspondent Sandeep Dikshit, on 30th April 2004, writes under the heading 'Now it's time to trim Indian Army': "The ideal teeth to trail ratio is said to be 65 percent – 65 combatants supported by 100 supporting non-combatants – and most countries are taking steps to achieve this equation. Australia and the United Kingdom are said to be close to be achieving this mark while India and Pakistan have to make considerable progress. Russia weighed by a financial crunch, and China, in line with its new military doctrine, is actively cutting down on their troop strength, especially the non-combat arms. The world over, armies have faced the brunt of downsizing because they are the largest and the most visible arm in the military. The Indian Army is no different and the huge amount of inbuilt flab since the colonial era has risen over the years. It could emulate the Pakistan Army which also carries a similar colonial legacy."

As time passed, more thought was given to the Pakistan Army's restructuring plan by the Indian think tank. *The Hindu*, in its issue of 1st May 2004 under the heading 'Can the Army make do with less?' writes: "Yet it is likely India will now face at

least some pressure to make corresponding cutbacks to further the ongoing détente process. Now in the process of raising 30 additional Rashtriya Rifles battalions and several Territorial Army and Special Forces units, as well as acquiring a massive state-of-the-art arsenal. India will appear in the negative light if it does not make some token concessions. What would India do to reciprocate? The Indian Army has one of the highest teeth-to-tail ratios in the world – only a third of its estimated 1.1 million manpower is actually meant to fight. Now perhaps is a particularly good time to

electronic warfare, information and cyber-warfare and a reconnaissance, surveillance and target acquisition (RSTA) units. Pakistan is known to be all of these in its quest to catch up with the revolution in military affairs (RMA) that it has missed so far. It emerges quite clearly that either the Pakistan Army has not thought things through clearly or the proposed reduction is nothing but window dressing to make it look good to the international community. The Pakistan Army has long been in the habit of scoring brownie points and this reduction of 50,000 personnel could be one more step in that direc-

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address the issue squarely – and give the Army the resources and men it needs to guard the country's borders, not to patrol the streets of Jammu and Kashmir or Nagaland."

Gourmeet Kanwal, writing for the *The Indian Express* of 8th May 2004, cannot resist the temptation of taking a jab at Pakistan and comments, "It is not clear whether the reduction will be permanent or only a suppression that can be made up by new recruitment over six to nine months if it becomes necessary. It would also be an attempt to muster non-combatant personnel for new 'force multiplier' units such as

tion. As for the mutual force reduction with India, such fanciful proposals have emanated before from Pakistan's GHQ in Rawalpindi so as to lull India into a sense of complacency before the next Rann of Kutch (May 1965) or Operation Gibraltar (August 1965) or Operation Grand Slam (September 1965) or Kargil (April-July 1999) is thrust on India."

The Pakistani example is definitely being studied by the Indian think tank enabling saner elements like Raja Menon of *The Indian Express*, who on 12 June comes up with a no-nonsense column titled: 'Follow Pak example, cut down'. The worthy

columnist states matter of factly, "Pak deserves all credit for announcing it will reduce the strength of its bloated army. Acknowledge it and emulate. So the last idea one would expect from Islamabad is one of troop reductions. Yet we have an offer of a 50,000-man cut in the Pakistan Army. We obviously have to take it seriously, and the first question—with new

hired at a time when soldiers didn't cost much. In opportunity costs, a South Asian battalion of infantry (approximately 1,000 men) would cost anything up to Rs 6 crore a year in salaries, with another Rs 4 crore in maintenance costs. A 50,000-man reduction in troop strength would reduce the Army's annual maintenance costs by Rs 500 crore. This is

copter force in five years, making it the second most modern rapid reaction force in the world after the US.

The huge manpower costs of both armies cripple their modernisation and eventually also cripple their strategy. Manpower is used in the only way possible, which is to string them along the border, since their poor mobility precludes stationing them in the rear areas. The continued deployment of combat troops on the border provokes incidents, by their very presence, unrelated to any political dispute. Reducing troop strength is therefore beneficial to both India and Pakistan, but Islamabad deserves all credit for a measure which, if implemented, could start both countries off on a long and beneficial journey. India, as the bigger country, with bigger conventional forces, can hardly ignore the Pakistani offer without damaging its credibility in the world—no matter what the Indian 'patriots' might say. As the bigger country going in for nuclear CBM talks with Pakistan, it would be a statesmanlike step to accept the Pakistani offer in principle, leaving it to the two armies to work out the mechanics of a manpower reversal scheme." Raja Mohan seems to be echoing the words spoken by the DG ISPR. It takes two to tango! ♦

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Foreign Minister Natwar Singh scheduled to visit Pakistan soon—is, are we at the beginning of a Mutual Balanced Force Reduction process? The answer is that both the Indian and Pakistan armies are likely to become much more efficient if their numbers are reduced. Consider the facts, which are common to both armies. The Indian army spends about Rs 380 billion a year, of which 70 per cent goes in purely, maintaining the Army, that is, salaries, fuel, provisions, uniforms and rations. What is left, amounting to Rs 114 billion, is spent on modernising hardware. Almost four-fifths of this sum is committed to purchases made in previous years. The remaining amount, equivalent of half a billion dollars, is actually available for modernisation. What is eating up all the money in the armies of India and Pakistan is the huge number of uniformed people,

big money considering that a dedicated satellite to run the Army's communications would cost only Rs 300 crore—or that money saved could give the Army its own six-squadron combat and special operations heli-

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

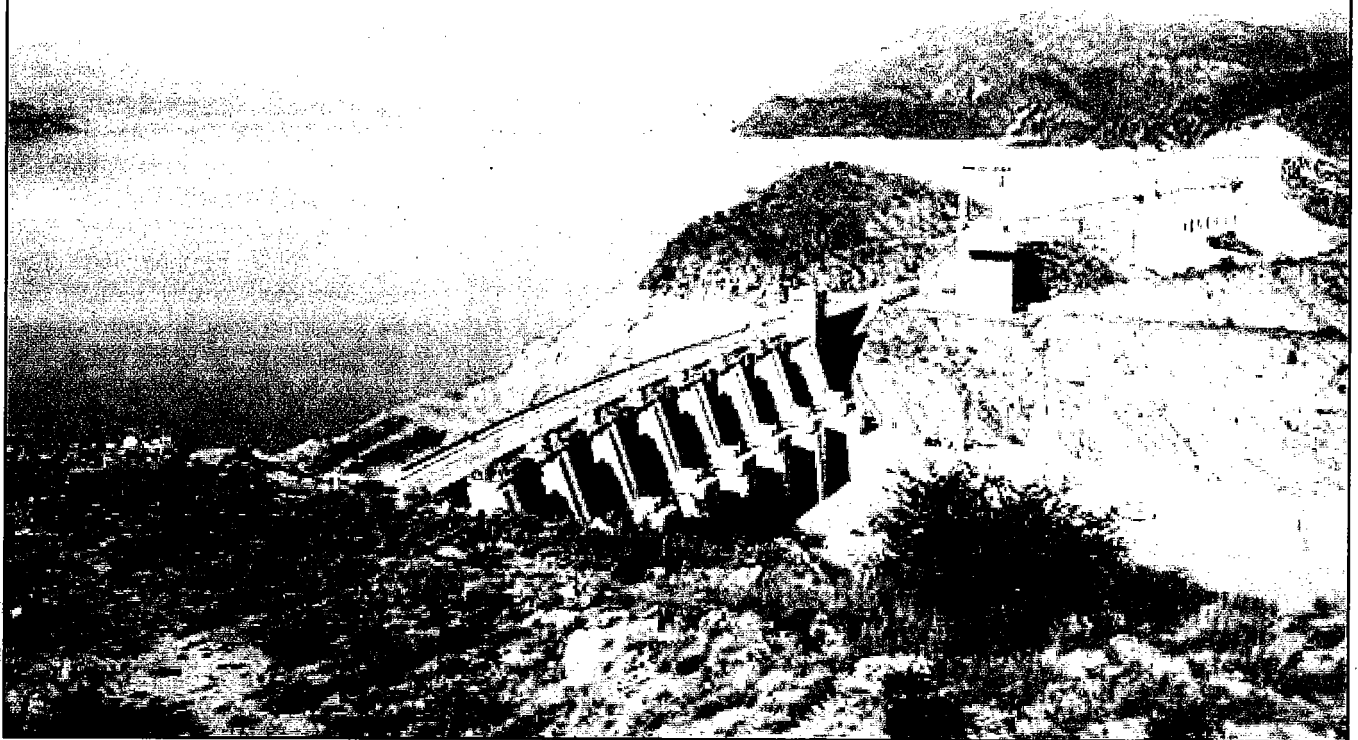
Group Captain S. M. Hali has served in Pakistan Air Force for thirty years. During his air force career, he has flown over 4,500 hours and worked on various command and staff appointments, which include the command of a squadron, duties as Air and Naval Attaché and Director Public Relations for PAF.

He is a Graduate of PAF Staff College, Joint Services Staff College, has Honours degree in Business Administration and Masters in Mass Communication and is currently pursuing an M.Phil. degree in Mass Communications.

He has produced a Drama serial **Shahpar**, about 40 TV documentaries and ten motivational songs videos. He has authored over two hundred and fifty articles for various national and international dailies and magazines. He has hosted and participated in numerous TV and Radio talk shows. He writes a regular weekly column in daily **Nawa-i-Waqt** and also contributes periodically to a number of English dailies and Journals including the **Defence Journal**.

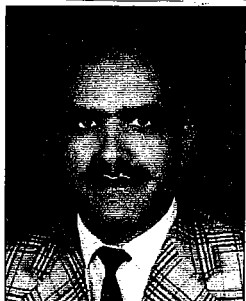
For his meritorious services, the Government of Pakistan has conferred on him **Sitara-e-Imtiaz** (Military).

Mangla Dam



The Water Wars

Columnist **MUHAMMAD IRSHAD** discusses what can happen if we do not conserve water.



Pakistan will be facing serious challenges regarding quality and quantity of water if the issue is not taken on an urgent basis.

Hyderabad was one of the worst examples where water contamination claimed precious human lives, 50 dead and about 300 seriously affected, the activists feared occurrence of many such examples in future if the quality of drinking water was not taken seriously. water shortages in Sindh alone has destroyed 5,000 lakes, left one million unemployed

and forced 100,000 families to migrate to other areas. And our lives and our economies are likely to bear serious brunts, if necessary steps are not taken in time. Water is a serious problem not only for Pakistan, but for the world also.

We all study in our school books that water covers three fourth of the earth, and this gives us an impression of the abundance of the water availability. We also see that water is continually being recycled through rain and evaporation and none of it leaves the planet's atmosphere,

making us think of some kind of unending storage. Whereas, the total quantity of water on earth may remain the same, the portion which is fit for use by human beings is reducing everyday, leaving the future availability of potable water to unknown figures, a situation which might turn out to be more devastating than the threat of nuclear wars.

We can render water unusable for ourselves and for the planet. The growing scarcity of potable water stems from a variety of causes. Per capita water consumption is doubling every 20 years, more than twice the rate of human population growth, which itself is exploding. Technology and sanitation systems, particularly those in the wealthy industrialised nations, have encouraged people to use far more water than they need. Yet even with this increase in personal water use, households and municipalities account for only 10 percent of water use. Industry claims 20 to 25 percent of the world's fresh water supplies, and its demands are dramatically increasing. Many of the world's fastest growing industries are water intensive. For example, in the U.S. alone, the computer industry will soon use over 396 billion gallons of water each year. Nonetheless, it is irrigation that is the real water consumer, claiming 65 to 70 percent of all water used by humans. Increasing amounts of irrigation water are used for farming. In Pakistan more than three fourth of the land is, not being cultivated for shortage of water, imagine if we had plenty of water, our food production alone could be increased by three folds.

The world is running out of fresh water. By the year 2025, there will be 2.6 billion more people on Earth than there are today. As many as two-thirds of those people will be living in conditions of serious water shortage, and one-third will be living in absolute water scarcity. Demand for

water will exceed availability by 56 percent. Most of us may not be aware of the severity of the problem, but a recent report about Quetta indicated a very worrisome picture. "Dramatic population increase, over-exploitation of the ground-water, and drought have led Quetta into a water crisis," the report said, adding that more than 2,000 tube-wells were now pumping out water for Quetta alone. A decade ago, water was available 30 metres below the surface. Now it is difficult to find any above 100 metres. Quetta was originally built for some 50,000 people after the devastating earthquake of 1935, but now

country at the downside of many fresh water rivers, and since the creation of Pakistan we have shown utter disregard for this gift of nature.

There is one thing that must be very clearly understood. Allah Almighty holds into His exclusive discretion the quantity of water that flows into rivers at any time. Human ingenuity may make any device for storage and diversion of river flows but the sum total of the quantity shall always remain the same as Allah Almighty allows into the rivers. The construction of storage (dam) and diversion (barrage) schemes, therefore, solely depends on the total

The national planners all over the world are working overtime to think of ways and means about increasing the potable water availability for their present and future generations. Unfortunately, this does not happen to be the case in Pakistan, where mother nature has been extremely kind to place this country at the downside of many fresh water rivers.

houses 20 times as many. To some extent same is the problem in all our residential areas. And unless some urgent steps are taken now, it might be too late. The various crisis of tussle between the provincial governments about water may be some indicators of the arrival of a monster.

The national planners all over the world are working overtime to think of ways and means about increasing the potable water availability for their present and future generations. Unfortunately, this does not happen to be the case in Pakistan, where mother nature has been extremely kind to place this

quantity of water that is available in a river during a year, particularly how these flows dovetail into the quantity of water needed during crop seasons. This is the reason that has necessitated recording of river flows for long period of years. On the basis of over fifty years' record the mean flow in Indus River System (IRS), meaning the rivers of this system Indus itself and its tributaries Kabul, Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Bias and Sutlej. Since river Kabul merges with Indus at Attock ahead of classic Indus plains, therefore, the Indus River System is counted to comprise Indus below Attock and its tributaries the five rivers of

Punjab. The total flow totalled 175 MAF (million acre feet) on the eve of Partition of Punjab in 1947. This comprised 93 including 27 of Kabul for Indus, 23 for Jhelum, 26 for Chenab, 6 for Ravi, 13 for Bias and 14 for Sutlej in MAF annually. Out of this 175 MAF, 167 flowed into Pakistan at the time the boundaries of partitioned Punjab were fixed according to the Radcliffe Award. This means that the Indian East Punjab drew only 8 MAF of a total of 33 MAF of water that annually flowed in three eastern rivers Ravi, Bias and Sutlej before waters of these rivers entered West Punjab of Pakistan. Under the internationally agreed rights of lower riparians and also Indian Independence Act 1947, the balance 25 MAF waters of three eastern rivers were to be shared between India and Pakistan and India was also to guarantee non-interference in the existing supplies of canal waters flowing into Pakistan from Head Works (Madhopur and Ferozpur) in India. The sordid tale must first be told as to how this life blood of Pakistan's agriculture was sold out to India first through the criminal conduct of Punjab Government in 1947 and later the infamous Indus Waters Treaty of 1960 which deprived Pakistan nearly one-sixth of its total surface water resources. This sell out is indeed no less act of treason against Pakistan than the separation of East Pakistan, connived by 'patriots'.

Under Independence Act a Punjab Partition Council was set up comprising equal members from both East and West Punjab governments. An Arbitral Tribunal, with life up to March 31, 1948, was also set up to finally decide upon any contentious issues between the two governments. Committee B of the Partition Council was to decide upon the share of the three eastern rivers between the two governments and the canal waters. It was agreed between the representa-

tive of two governments that existing supplies of canal waters will not be disturbed and that the river waters shall be shared 'proportionally'. Under this formula the Rau Commission of 1941 had awarded East Punjab area of undivided Punjab construction of Bhakra Dam with a storage capacity of 4 MAF on river Sutlej. Both sides had, therefore, agreed to Pakistan's share of 21 MAF of three Eastern rivers and non-interference of supplies of waters of canals flowing into Pakistan from Madhopur and Ferozpur Head Works. The West Punjab government of Khan Mamdot with Daultana and Shaukat Hayat as key members, however, failed to draw out an agreement to this effect and register it with the Partition Council and relied only on the verbal assurances of their lingual brothers of East Punjab.

Consequently, as soon as the Arbitral Tribunal was abolished, India turned off the tap on canal waters on April 1, 1948 and on Pakistan's protest denied any agreement and claimed all waters of canals and eastern rivers to it. Chaudhri Muhammad Ali then Secretary General of Pakistan writes on the episode that on the part of East Punjab there was Machiavellian duplicity. On the part of West Punjab there was neglect of duty, complacency and lack of common prudence which had disastrous effects on Pakistan. In May 1948 a delegation led by Ghulam Muhammad with Daultana and Shaukat Hayat as members went to Delhi to sort out the issue. On May 4, 1948 Ghulam Muhammad signed a statement which said that apart from the question of law involved, the governments were anxious to approach the problem in a practical spirit. The East Punjab government would progressively diminish its supplies to Central Bari Doab and Dipalpur canals in West Punjab to give it reasonable

time to tap alternative sources. The legally agreed right of Pakistan to the waters of three Eastern rivers and the canals flowing into it from India, was thus abjectly surrendered by the delegation which went to discuss the problem with Indians.

When news of this reached Karachi, Liaquat Ali Khan in a telegramme to Nehru immediately disowned the 'statement' as signed under duress and also informed UNO not to register it as an expression of government of Pakistan since the dying Jinnah was still alive. It should be remembered that the canal waters flowing into Pakistan from India irrigated less than ten percent of the total irrigated area in then West Punjab and contributed little to overall agricultural output. The Ghulam Muhammad Delegation, however, laid the basis for India to claim all the waters of Eastern rivers to which India stuck during all negotiations between the two countries. Pakistan persistently refused such claims until India finally assembled 90 percent of its army on West Punjab borders to brow beat Pakistan into submission. It was at this time that Liaquat challenged India for a fight to finish although the first Pakistani Commander-in-Chief of Army advised against war. Unable to confront a nation aroused to fight to finish, India withdrew its army and the canal supplies continued to flow.

It was at this juncture that Chairman of Tennessee Valley Authority in the United States described the canal water dispute as 'Punjab powder keg' and went on to say that with such 'inflammables' around there is no chance of peace in the sub-continent. This made World Bank President, Eugene Black, contact the two governments in September 1951 and made India agree to Liaquat's demand that until a just solution is found the existing arrangement of water supplies to Pakistan shall not

be disturbed. However, no sooner the 'hurdle' of Liaquat was removed in October 1951, India started throttling the canal waters which the post Liaquat factional governments were not able to confront on 'principle', eventually ending in the anti-Pakistan Indus Waters Treaty of 1960. Indians, perhaps, waited for the assassination of Liaquat to squeeze Pakistan on canal waters much the same way as they waited till the death of Quaid-e-Azam to occupy Hyderabad in blatant disregard of its own Stand Still Agreement.

In the post Liaquat Ali Khan era India not only illegally doubled the storage capacity of Bhakra Dam but also started work on Nangal Dam and the Rajasthan Canal that would take Indus Basin waters outside it. The ruling coterie of Pakistan was too busy to pay any attention to this blatant usurpation of Pakistan's sovereign waters and instead of confronting India appointed a Dams' Commission to find alternative sources as promised by Ghulam Muhammad in 1948 who in the meantime became the Governor General having escaped imminent dismissal as finance minister in 1951 because of Liaquat's assassination. Dam sites at Mangla on Jhelum and Durband, Tarbela and Kalabagh on Indus were investigated among many others. It must be noted the flow in IRS at that time was 160 MAF with India already appropriating illegally more than 3 MAF of Pakistan's waters through the enlarged Bhakra Dam. The Mangla site on Jhelum was found to be most suitable and was approved for construction of a dam by government of Pakistan in 1953. Of the three sites on Indus as mentioned, Tarbela site was preferred.

In the meantime the World Bank was pressing Pakistan to reach some compromise on the water disputes with India and refused any financial

assistance for construction of Mangla Dam until all disputes on Indus Basin Waters were resolved. The then government of Pakistan agreed to the suggestion and after prolonged engineering studies carried out by World Bank Consultants a proposal was made out in 1956 to allocate all waters of three eastern rivers to India and those of three western rivers to Pakistan thereby depriving Pakistan its legitimate, and legal share of 21 MAF of waters of eastern rivers. The loss of these waters was to be compensated from transfer of waters from the western rivers on which India could not lay claims by any means. It was suggest-

ing' most of Pakistan's agricultural potential for all time to come. An unpardonable crime indeed.

According to the said Treaty Pakistan is entitled to 142 MAF (Indus 93, Jhelum 23 and Chenab 26) of mean flow on the basis of 50 years' record at rim stations of Attock on Indus, Mangla on Jhelum and Marala on Chenab as these rivers enter the Indus plain. From these points onwards Indus travels nearly 750 miles to fall into the sea, Jhelum travels 190 miles to join Chenab and Chenab travels 370 miles to join Indus at Mithankot. For nearly 180 miles the combined flow of Jhelum

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ed that the entire cost of all works to affect this transfer of waters shall be borne by World Bank, a consortium of some western countries and India with Pakistan footing only a small percent of total as a loan. It must be recorded to the credit of bureaucrats of those times that they continued to resist this anti-Pakistan proposal until a 'usurper', blinded by the dangle of dollars, showed them the door and agreed to sign in 1960 the treaty known as Indus Basin Waters Treaty through which 21 MAF or nearly 18 percent of Pakistan's total surface natural water resources were sold for 900 million dollars thereby 'truncat-

and Chenab travel from just below Jhang to join Indus which travels a further 75 miles to enter the province of Sindh upstream of Guddu Barrage and then flows for another 370 miles crossing first Sukkur Barrage and then Kotri Barrage in the province to fall into the sea. The barrages on Indus in the Punjab are Jinnah (just down stream of the proposed site of Kalabagh Dam), Chashma and Taunsa. Now when these rivers travel mentioned distances they suffer losses due to evaporation from water surface, seepage through banks and percolation through beds. Total losses from these sources have been worked

out as 16 MAF annually with 9 MAF in Punjab above Guddu Barrage and 7 MAF in highly arid zone of Sindh above Kotri Barrage which means that net usable flow in the rivers of IRS totals about 126 MAF annually. It is most important to note that in addition to the total flow it is equally important to see as to how this total flow is spread over a year. Nearly 59 percent of the net total flow or 75 MAF takes place in the flood season of June, July and August during which water is not required for sowing rabi or kharif crops. Total flow from September to December (rabi sowing) is 18 MAF and from January to May (Kharif sowings) 23 MAF as the average of the recorded flows which have varied to a maximum of 16 percent on the down side during the recorded period of time. According to records the minimum net flow in the IRS has been about 106 MAF. The cycle of these minimum flows averages five years. Theoretically, therefore, over 100 MAF can be taken away from the IRS for irrigation purposes. In any case rivers cannot be allowed to run dry for a variety of other vital reasons the central being the flood irrigation (sailabi land), marine life and the prevention of ingress of sea into the lands of the river delta. It is the last one which determines a minimum outflow into the sea which will also cater for other requirements. There is irreconcilable disagreement in this case between irrigation experts of Sindh and Punjab. While Sindh experts describe a minimum of 18 MAF outflow to cater for the marine life, mangroves and prevention of the ingress of seawater into delta, the experts from Punjab only talk of building a wall to prevent ingress of the sea. They do not say anything about the requirements of preserving marine life and the mangroves below Kotri Barrage. The argument always becomes sour instead of being rational. What is

most surprising is that these experts never talk of preventing staggering waste of irrigation water in the canal system and its distributaries.

From all available published data more than 40 percent water taken into canals from the rivers at the barrages (no canal directly takes off from Tarbela or Mangla Dams) is lost before it reaches the fields. The reasons are again the same as in the case of rivers that is evaporation, percolation through banks and seepage through beds. In addition inadequate desilting of canals and distributaries narrows the cross section thereby badly affecting flow conditions resulting in reduced quantities causing scarcity at the tail ends of the system. The reduced velocity of flow, below self-cleansing, aggravates the situation over a period of time and also aids percolation and seepage which has turned millions of acres of land saline and water-logged over a period of time and continues to do so. The strident *bhal safae* effort of the army will ease somewhat the situation at tail ends but it is something which should be regularly done with diligence by the Irrigation Department. According to latest available figures a total of 108 MAF was made available to all provinces in 1998-99 at the canal heads. Of this only 63 MAF actually reached the fields the rest being lost due to stated reasons. Only if one-fifth of water lost in canal system is retrieved it will not only obviate the necessity of building many Dams but will also provide long term substitute to the depleting capacities of Tarbela and Mangla Dams. And this can be achieved by progressively lining the banks and beds of only distributaries and watercourses of the existing irrigation network. The process will involve trimming these water channels of small cross-sections first to the correct shape and then line their banks and beds with precast concrete blocks. The remain-

ing system of minor and major canals in the system can be lined over a long span of time eventually retrieving around 34 MAF of the lost water. This will also relieve the recurring problem of salinity and water logging. But as long as Pakistan cannot afford to line these rivers and canals, everyday is going to increase the water woes of Pakistan.

The problem of water scarcity in Pakistan does not solely stem from a shortage of resources. Its roots also lie in the realm of awareness and willingness to find a participatory solution that is feasible and sustainable. Irrigated agriculture is the backbone of Pakistan's economy. At the same time with population estimated to be more than 150 million, there is a dire need to increase agricultural production. If nothing is done, there would be approximately 25% shortfall in food grain requirements by the next five years. Due to complete stoppage of any sizeable surface water resources development after full commissioning of Tarbela Dam during 1976, even sustainability of existing irrigated agriculture is in serious jeopardy. With a large arable land, Pakistan still has the potential of bringing several million acres of virgin land under irrigation. An important impediment in the way of this development is insufficient control over flood water of the rivers. With virtually no limit on availability of land, it is unfortunate to willingly let large quantities of water into the sea. Besides recurring irrigation water shortage, the country passes through periodic calamity caused by the phenomenon of floods (1992 followed by 1994 very large floods should act as eye-openers). Monsoon rains result in swollen rivers which spill over their banks, bringing in the wake loss on a colossal scale. Floods are detrimental, not only in financial terms, but also in the form of severe undermining of productive system, which

should logically be free from uncertainties and frequent dislocations. In the context of Peshawar Valley above Nowshera, frequent flooding takes place due to entrance of Kabul River into confined channel below this point. Similarly, national demand of electricity has been and would keep in growing rapidly. From the present 13500MW, peak power requirement of the country is estimated to cross 16000 MW by the year 2010. Though international private sector may have helped in overcoming the load-shedding, the power cost is increasing substantially. Therefore, a large scale injection of cheap hydropower through multi-purpose storage's is the only answer if the cost of electric supply is to be kept within affordability of the consumers. But to achieve this target, we must have water in abundance. To protect the rightful share of our waters we were negligent in the early years, we were negligent while negotiating with world bank and we are negligent even today.

The present government steps are appreciable. The projects worth 84 billions launched to generate additional storage of 4.4 MAF, namely Mangla Dam raising, Gomul Zam Dam, Mirani Dam, Sabakzai Dam and Satpara Dam, and also the likely over US \$ one billion for Munda Dam project are insufficient steps in the right direction. Imagine, what will happen to the country once the Tarbela and Mangla dams get silted like Warsak and there will be much shortage of electricity. Gas reserves would in due course of time be exhausted. There are no jungles in the country for the provision of wood for fire and other human needs. Would we be able to afford to pay very high cost of oil for running our thermal power plants?

Thus it is time to seriously undertake the Kalabagh Dam, which is the requirement of the

country but has been converted into a political issue for motives other than those beneficial for Pakistan. The proposed site of Kalabagh Dam is located about 15 miles upstream of Mianwali on the River Indus. The dam, if built, would provide 3,500 mega watts of electricity at the cost of about 41 to 60 paise per unit as compared to the cost of about Rs. 5 to 6 per unit provided by the thermal power stations. Even if one includes initial capital cost in the building of the dam, the electricity production cost will average out to be much cheaper than from

Water scarcity is a problem that affects everyone and in all aspects of life. It is, therefore, of utmost importance that we should try to understand the problem in its entirety, its causes and full ramification of the solution that we may think are the correct measures. What we need is a broad vision and a long term view of the developmental needs of our country and the resources that we need to sustain growth. The solution may lie in increasing the number of dams, but it also lies in preventing crisis and regional disputes through measures that are economic and institutional. Water must be treated as

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thermal units. The dam, not only produces electricity, and stores water, but will regulate supply of water to the whole country for irrigation right upto the Arabian Sea. It will play an important role in controlling floods in the River Indus. As a matter of fact, we should go for dams all over the country to produce hydro-electricity which will be much cheaper. Even the poor people will be able to afford it to use to improve their living standards and thus come out of the exploitation of the unscrupulous rich politicians and vaderas.

an economic good, which is priced and taxed. Allocation and usage of water should be defined according to clear laws and policies that are agreed to by all stakeholders. If infrastructure is to be built for improving storage and distribution of water, then this should be done through participation and joint agreements. Any measures that are taken to resolve this problem, should be co-operative arrangements. Awareness and participation are two key elements of sustainable development and they should also apply to finding a solution to the problem of water scarcity in Pakistan. ♦

The roots of the decay lie in the faulty infrastructure, poor quality of the intake. poor training, lack of modern equipment, lack of facilities, poor working conditions and absolutely unrealistically meagre wages. Police Order 2002 was drafted with great hue and cry and later promulgated on 14th August 2002. It was proclaimed by the drafters and the government as nothing less than a modern day Magna Charter that would transform the police in this country from a nineteenth century colonial law enforcement force into a modern day people friendly and efficient police force that would be answerable only to the law of land.

Mutilated Police Reforms

Columnist **TAHIR MASHHADI** says the problem affecting the police are administratively multi-dimensional, institutional and political.



Protecting the life, honour, property and provision of law and order is the primary responsibility of the state. A responsibility in which this

Government like all others before it has miserably failed. Creation of a people friendly efficient and corruption free police force capable of enforcing the writ of the state, strengthening rule of law and restoring the badly shattered confidence, faith and trust of the public in the criminal justice system has to be top priority of the government. The problems affecting the police are administratively multi-dimensional, institutional and political. The roots of the decay lie in the faulty infrastructure, poor quality of the intake. poor training, lack of modern equipment, lack of facilities, poor working conditions and absolutely unrealistically meagre wages. Police Order 2002 was drafted with great hue and cry and later promulgated on 14th August 2002. It was proclaimed by the drafters and the government as nothing less than a

modern day Magna Charter that would transform the police in this country from a nineteenth century colonial law enforcement force into a modern day people friendly and efficient police force that would be answerable only to the law of land. It was supposed to safeguard the interests of the people instead of vested interests. The Police Order 2002 was an attempt to introduce a modern police system and contained a variety of people friendly provisions to check the arbitrary and whimsical authority of the executive and political interference and measures that ensured de-politicisation of police, effective oversight by the civil society, professionalism with de-concentration of powers at key operational levels and a credible accountability of police was not allowed to be implemented as the provinces dragged their feet and delayed the process. To make matters worse the inept, decrepit, doddering and capricious. Federal Government was not only unable to ensure its implementation but in order to appease and strengthen various power groups and vested interests of the inept ruling elite it buckled to their demands and have now proposed such amendments that the Police

Order 2002 is hardly recognizable as it has been systematically subverted, corrupted, manipulated and weakened and destroyed by the very people at the helm of affairs who had introduced it. All these changes have been made naturally to the police subservient to the executive and the politicians. The Order stands compromised, as it has lost all impartial and independent system of accountability. According to the press reports the following amendments stand approved but are yet to be incorporated in the Police Order:

- Annual Confidential Reports of the District Police Officer will be written by the Zila Nazim.
 - Investigation wing has been again placed under the SHO.
 - The Police Complaint authorities at the national and the provincial levels have been abolished and the task has been entrusted to the relevant safety commissions.
 - Two MPAs and one MNA will be included in each of the District Public Safety Commissions.
 - In the National and the Provincial Public Safety Commissions the number of opposition MNAs and MPAs have been reduced from three to two and those of treasury benches increased from three to four.
- These provisions that are contemplated to be changed are the heart of this law. These amendments will

negate the fundamental principles of reforms that were inbuilt in the Police Order 2004. It is obvious that any force used for political ends will be incapable of maintaining law and order or winning the confidence of the masses. With the announced changes in the structure of the Public Safety Commissions the purpose and complexion of the law has drastically changed and rocked the rationale on which the entire edifice of the legal provisions were drafted. Furthermore, inclusion of members of the Assemblies into the District Public Safety Commissions will institutionalise political interference in the policing in the country that will have serious repercussions on law enforcement. The public interest has been flagrantly compromised at the alter of political expediency and the chances of misuse of police by the politicians greatly enhanced. Having more Treasury members in the national and the provincial commissions not only disturbs the balance but compromises the neutrality of these bodies. There is no justification of placing the police under the Nazims. Passing on control of police to local bodies has proven counter productive often spelling disaster even in the most advanced and developed countries. In Pakistan they are sure to be catastrophic. Recording of the Annual Confidential Report of District Police Officer by the Nazim will have very serious consequences on day to day working of the police as the police officers will be forced to accommodate requirements of Zila Nizam. The approved amendment to the Police Order hardly augurs well for depoliticisation and effective and impartial monitoring or control of the police force at district, provincial and national levels. In fact the political and elitist nature of the proposed composition will greatly facilitate politicisation. The control of the police is being devolved to the politicians and the elite rather than to the masses.

Our national destructive and divisive characteristics traits, morals, values and behavioural attitudes have moulded the nature of our police and is responsible for the prevalent "Thana Culture" as well as the notoriety, the politicisation, corruption and brutality of the police force. The politicians, pressure groups, mafias and other vested interests expediency has stymied and sabotaged all efforts to improve the force. Our successive governments have all displayed a remarkable genius for assiduously doing nothing to improve the pitiable conditions prevailing in the police department. Outside interference,

long succession of incompetent dictatorial, greedy and selfish rulers. It is, therefore, a grave misconception to believe that all policemen are corrupt and useless. In spite of all limitations they have done and are doing some really good work. The force has produced a great number of very devoted, dedicated, honest and public service oriented officers and men. Conversely, there are equally a large number of rotten, corrupt, inefficient, heartless, callous and draconian people in the force which has naturally given a bad reputation to the force as a whole. To make the reforms a success, a simultaneous reformation of a police force

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exploitation, gross violation of the rules and regulations, direct interference in channel of command, use of influence in recruitment, postings, promotions, rewards etc has been flagrantly perpetuated on this inherently under paid, under staffed, overworked, badly equipped, neglected and abused so much so that the force progressively deteriorated and became thoroughly disorganized, disoriented, outdated, demoralised, unmotivated and ineffective. The police has become a natural and convenient whipping boy for the general public thereby hiding the myriad incompetence, greed, sins and crimes of the graft ridden ruling class and the

must take place from within. One cannot legislate for virtue, honesty, personal pride and dignity. This must come about voluntarily from within.

Before approving the amendments and in fact even before implementing the original Police Order, the government should have addressed the question as to who would be policing the police and what measures, laws and safeguards are going to be enacted to ensure that the police is brought under tighter control and discipline. Presently the citizenry in Pakistan is extremely weak, scared and unprotected. They do not enjoy secure citizens or even basic fundamental rights compatible with advanced countries of the world.

Our people are in need of great deal of protection by law to be in any position to provide any effective or worthwhile input in controlling or monitoring the police. The excessive and absolute powers of the police in matters of detention, search, arrests, illegal custody, use of third degree, arrest and harassment of family members of suspects and other such oppressive and draconian activates have to be curtailed and eliminated

By first abolishing the old police system and then amending their own Police Order beyond recognition an obvious attempt has been made by the ruling elite vested interests to create an almighty police establishment separate and independent from the judiciary and magistracy. Whereas, the requirement in Pakistan is to bring about changes in the existing laws to heavily empower and provide safeguards for the public against misuse of authority by the law enforcing agencies and granting the citizens free access to prompt, fair and efficacious delivery of justice exactly the opposite has been done. There was, in fact nothing wrong with the system of administration of justice in vogue before this disastrous exercise of introducing police reforms was initiated with great fanfare, pomp and show. The old police and administrative system possessed ample capacity and strength to ensure expeditious and just enforcement. The system was time tested, fully understood by the masses and enjoyed their trust and confidence. The only grievance the masses had was about the delay. Justice delayed is justice denied, as the delay in grant of justice itself becomes injustice. By doing away with the time tested and tried role of the district magistrate the government has opened up a hornet's nest. Crucial issues of public peace, security, law and order have to be controlled by the judiciary and magistracy. The police cannot be permitted to function in a vacuum and independently. Ever since Emperor Augustus 1

organized the first police force in Rome in 7 BC and placed it under the prefect (Magistrate) all police forces of the world have followed this arrangement. The police have to be and must remain a part and extension of the magistracy. This could easily have been done by amending the Criminal Procedure Code, the Police Act 1861 and relevant portions of the Pakistan Penal Code. Personal liberty is of paramount importance to human dignity and happiness. Enactment of new laws to control the excessive powers of police while at the same time strengthening and empowering of the basic fundamental and civic rights of the individual's and of the judiciary merit and must receive paramount consideration of all governments of goodwill. If laws are weak they are seldom obeyed and if they are too harsh they are hardly ever executed. The police must ensure the liberty, basic fundamental rights, dignity, safety and respect of all law-abiding citizens. It is always better that nine guilty escape than one innocent suffer.

Power of the police to be lasting, effective and beneficial has to be legitimate. When the rule of law ends, tyranny and injustice begins. There has to be a distinctive difference between the law enforcers and the lawbreakers. It is a universal truth that brute force has never achieved anything lasting or worthwhile. The police and even our people in power must accept the fact that it is not possible to enforce the law by breaking it. Justice is the foremost condition of any society and the state exists to uphold the cause of law above all else. No state or government can profess to be legitimate unless it is ruled by law and if its populace is not provided security, safety and its civic and basic fundamental rights. Justice must prevail and must be seen to prevail. The government has to produce an efficient, effective, corruption free, impartial and people-friendly force, which is better, led, inducted, fed, paid and controlled. It must also be provid-

ed with better facilities, equipment, training, infrastructure, pay and service conditions and most of all support and encouragement to do their duty. The amendments contemplated in the Police Order 2002 carry all the risks of exacerbating the condition of our police rather than healing it. Unless the ailment is correctly diagnosed no amount of medication can possibly cure the disease. In the case of our police force the symptoms are clear but as in the past the cure because it is seen through the vested interests jaundiced eyes remains evasive. Military regimes invariably leave more problems than they solve. Quasi-military governments are worse. Change is always a double-edged sword. It contains the germs of both creation and destruction. Police was far too important a subject to be tampered with by anything less than a truly democratically elected and representative government. However, now that the blunder has been committed and the exercise has ended in a complete fiasco. There are only two options left. What the government is certainly not one of them. The first is scrap the ill-fated Police Order 2002 all together. Repeal the law and go back to the old time tested system, making necessary amendments to improve it. The second is to fall back on the original Police Order 2002 and good, bad or indifferent as it may be – enforce it in letter and spirit. The government must immediately stop reinforcing failure. It never pays. Going ahead with the proposed amendments will lead to grave and irreversible consequences and repercussions leaving the nation and its people lawless and helpless in a police state dominated by unbridled police in the hands of the inept ruling elite. If a police state is going to be Gen Musharraf's legacy to the nation, then one may be forced to agree with the majority of the people when they insist that he neither had nor has any legal right or moral justification to rule. ♦

OIC's identity dilemma

Columnist **ANSAR MAHMOOD BHATTI** says that OIC is passing through a difficult phase.



The Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) came into being on 25 September 1969 in the wake of Zionist

attack on Al-Aqsa Mosque, perpetrated on 21 August 1969. After the attack the leaders of the Muslim countries gathered in Rabat, Morocco and unanimously decided to forge a platform from where they could speak with one voice in order to safeguard the interests of the Muslim world. The OIC was initially formed with a single point agenda – to liberate Jerusalem and Al-Aqsa from the Zionist occupation, but gradually it was transformed into a political alliance, meant to tackle the challenges facing the Muslim world. The critics are, nevertheless, unanimous on the point that the OIC has miserably failed to address all issues, the Muslim world is confronted with, including Palestine and Kashmir.

I had the opportunity to participate, as an observer, in a symposium, organised by the Centre for Strategic Research, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey, few days ago. The symposium was primarily a show the think-tank of the member states, which had gathered to finalise recommendations, ahead of OIC Foreign Ministers summit, held in Istanbul from June 14-16. There I had the chance to study, in depth, the working and worth of the

OIC and its future role in the resolution of the outstanding issues.

The OIC, in my view, has not yet taken a start as a dynamic, vibrant and effective outfit, as envisaged in its charter. The organisation has completed 34 years of its existence but it has failed to be a panacea for all problems Muslim world is facing these days. The reasons of failure of OIC are multi-faceted, leadership and identity crises being at the top. If one simply compares the preamble of the UN charter with that of OIC, it will become evident that OIC is there to serve only the interests of the governments and states and people have no say in its affairs. The preamble of the UN charters begins with the phrases "We the peoples of the United Nations", while the preamble of the OIC reads, "We the representatives of the following states".

There is no second opinion that OIC has hitherto been acting as a stooge to the governments. It should be very clear to all and sundry that unless democratic structures within the Muslim states are improved and the civil society is considered as a major partner in the process of democratisation, this organisation would continue to be merely a showpiece. The OIC has to readjust itself to the newly evolving conditions, in order to play its truly constructive rule in the world affairs. It has to support more vigorously the rights of its member states and lay special emphasis for the early solution of all outstanding conflicts. The world for Muslims was changed after 9/11 and the men in faith became an easy target

of criticism by the West. It was the proper time for the OIC that it would act judiciously and promptly to counter all these allegations but to the disappointment of all, it failed again. The reasons being obvious that most of the member states do not represent their people and that democracy in these countries is still a distant dream. They are more concerned about their own well being instead of their peoples and the populace of other Muslim countries. Their internal divisions have provided their opponents with a chance to exploit this situation and use them for their ulterior motives. Moreover, the gulf between the rulers and the ruled, in the OIC member states, is so wide that it has virtually trampled the essence of democracy and a society where the rights of the common people are respected the most. With this gap wide open, we should not expect any miracles to happen and put the things in order.

Another ample proof of OIC failure is non-settlement of old disputes like Palestine and Kashmir. These problems are with us for so many years but OIC has never taken any bold stand on these issues. Its attitude has so far been highly apologetic for the reasons best known to all that almost all the Arab countries are under immense pressure of the United States with the others also not an exception. After Communism, the West now fears Islam the most and considers it its enemy. This misconception will have to be diluted once and for all for which special conferences on Islamophobia ought to be arranged in different European capitals in collaboration with OIC. The West needs to be told that Islam is a religion of tolerance and it has nothing to do with terrorism or intolerance.

In today's world, it's simply impossible for the weak and disjointed organisations to survive for long. Today's world is only for the fittest — a reality the OIC leadership seems to be oblivious of. The organisation's all future policies must be in line with this fact. Despite all ifs and buts, OIC needs to cultivate working relations with the United States as well. US, at this particular juncture when war against terrorism is at its peak, needs to be briefed about the misunderstanding which it has about Islam and Muslims. According to a poll, about 65 per cent of Americans don't understand the correct Islam. I am sure, nobody would mind if OIC Foreign Ministers take a trip to Washington and talk friendship with the Americans, under the doctrine of necessity.

Muslim intelligentsias are equally to be blamed for not projecting and defending Islam against Western onslaughts. Look at the titles of the books published in the West on Islam, Jihad and Muslims during the last few years. Each and every title carries pictures of men or women with guns in their hands. We cannot quote even a single book authored by any Muslim scholar, in response to these ones. The question is that why there has not been any intellectual activity on our part. The answer is very simple that we have not done enough to deal with the problem of brain drain. As a matter of fact, Muslim intellectuals prefer to stay out of their countries since they lack research facilities and apt recognition of their calibre at home. This is another challenge OIC has to take on seriously and effectively by encouraging research and development activities and increased level of scientific cooperation among the member states.

The OIC countries have also shown lacklustre performance in the fields of trade and economy. Despite controlling the 70 per cent of oil resources, they have miserably been failed to assert themselves as sovereign and independent states. OIC countries are

blessed with abundance of other resources as well. The 57 countries as a whole make up 1/5 of the world's population, 1/6 of the total land area and are rich in oil and other minerals. Unfortunately, 22 of the 49 countries are classified as the least developing countries. While 23 are categorised as in severe debt and 15 are moderately indebted. Moreover, the OIC countries only make up 4.7 percent of the world GDP and 8.6 percent of world merchandise trade. Oil and agriculture are the main exports of almost half of the OIC countries. OIC countries trade more with other countries than with each other. The trend has to be reversed and efforts should be made to promote intra-OIC trade activities. There is indeed a big room for inter-Muslim regional group trade. Muslim leaders should keep in mind the experience of the European Union, which has evolved itself as a greater economic power. Without a robust economy and a set of revolutionary reforms, the goals of progress and prosperity can never be achieved.

The OIC member states are no doubt quick in adoption of resolutions but least bothered about their implementation. This was what the Foreign Ministers of OIC lamented, when they met in Istanbul from June 14-16 in connection with 31st OIC FMs summit. Muslim leaders badly lack political will and credibility at home and abroad, which is the root cause of all their misfortunes. Lack of vision is also missing in today's leadership. What the Muslim countries are required to do immediately is to forge a defence pact and introduce sweeping reforms for the rule of law and democracy.

On cultural side, means should be developed to foster understanding and shared values between Muslims and non-Muslims, as well as among Muslim societies and countries. More cooperation is needed to produce knowledge and establishment of centres for scientific research should also be given top priority. Status of women is a major

issue that the Muslim countries should address. The progress in gender issues is closely related to economic development and democratisation.

Lastly, few words about Prof Dr. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, the newly elected Secretary General of the OIC from Turkey. He was elected at the Istanbul OIC FMs meeting. He secured 32 votes while his opponents from Malaysia and Bangladesh could secure 12 votes each. This was for the first time in the history of the OIC that the secretary general was elected through ballot. Mr. Ihsanoglu is currently the Director General of Islamic Conference Organisation Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA). I had an opportunity to chat with him at the Symposium in Istanbul, ahead of the foreign ministers conference last week. He understands the nitty-gritty of the OIC since he has been attached with it from the beginning. One can hope that he will be able to bring about revolutionary changes in the OIC and make it a dynamic and progressive organisation that would heal the wound of the Muslim world in true sense. Let us all wish him a success. ♦

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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Education in Pakistan

Columnist A RASHID discusses the entire gamut of this important aspect for our society.



The difference between humans and other animals is only of consciousness. Humans are conscious beings while the animals live

only by instinct. The equation, therefore, signifies that the intrinsic value of a human being corresponds to the level of consciousness acquired. The entire malady of the so-called third world people resides in the low level of awareness prevalent among these people. Those countries with the Third World label who accorded the right priority to the field of education at the right point of time have left their malady far behind. The South East Asian countries are a case in point. It is so deplorable to admit that, since our independence, there has been deterioration rather than any forward movement in achieving the goal of quality education or the literacy index of the people of Pakistan. To ascertain the causes of our inertia in so vital a field of national interest and to identify the areas where we have gone wrong, we have to first trace the definition, history and philosophy of education and then look for the measures to bring our education endeavour on track.

The definition of education as stipulated in encyclopedia is: "The field of inquiry, speculation and application in which philosophical methods are applied to the study of a problem, topic or issue is education. Characteristic of these methods is the attempt to think as accurately, clearly, coherently, and systematically as possible.

Education can be thought of as the transmission of the values and accumulated knowledge of a society. In this sense, it is equivalent to what social scientists term socialization or enculturation. Children—whether conceived among New Guinea tribes people, the Renaissance Florentines, or the middle classes of Manhattan—are born without culture. Education is designed to guide them in learning a culture, moulding their behaviour in the ways of adulthood, and directing them toward their eventual role in society."

The history, as the philosophy, of education dates back to the Paleolithic era when man adopted the use of tools but the concept of organized education in the modern sense came about only around two and a half centuries ago. The starting benchmark may therefore be assumed from the Platonic view of education.

Platonic view: The first great attempt to create a philosophically coherent model of the educated per-

son was that of Plato. Reacting against the turbulence and chaos of his own times, Plato envisaged in the Republic a permanent, stable, hierarchical society in which those most adept at education would rule, those moderately adept would become warriors and carry out the orders of the rulers or guardians, and those least adept at education would fill the lowliest worker functions in society.

The Platonic scheme has been enormously influential, especially in the Western world, during the last 25 centuries. Most educational programmes in the West have consistently reflected this hierarchical pattern.

Thomist view: In the 13th century, St. Thomas Aquinas made a monumental attempt to reconcile the two great streams of the Western tradition. In his teaching at the University of Paris and in his writings Aquinas tried to synthesize reason and faith, philosophy and theology, university and monastery, activity and contemplation. In his writings, however, faith and theology ultimately took precedence over reason and philosophy because the former were presumed to give access to truths that were not available through rational inquiry. Hence, Aquinas started with assumptions based on divine revelation and went on to a philosophical explanation of man and nature. The model of the educated man that emerged from this process was the Scholastic, a man whose rational intelligence had been vigorously disciplined for the pursuit of moral excellence and whose highest happiness was found in contemplation of the Christian God.

This Scholastic model has greatly affected the development of Western education, especially in fostering the notion of intellectual discipline. Aquinas' theological-philosophical doctrine has been a powerful intellectual force throughout the West and has constituted the official basis of Catholic theology since 1879.

Lockean view: John Locke, the 17th-century English philosopher, has been credited with formulating the classical liberal defence of individual freedom against the authorities of state and church. Opposed both to what he deemed the stagnation of unreflective tradition and the perils of enthusiastic radicalism, Locke saw science, reason, and experience as the best safeguards against these dangers.

Naturalistic View: In Émile (1762), one of the most influential books on education ever written, Rousseau argued that one should protect the child from the corruptions of civilization and carefully nurture his natural, spontaneous impulses, which were always healthy. It was important, he maintained, to avoid premature intellectualization of emotion so that the child's intellectual powers could develop without distortion. Feeling should precede thinking, and the child should be controlled only by things, not by adults' wills. In these ideas lay some of the germs of progressive education, which spread throughout the world during the 19th and 20th centuries.

Marxist view: Probably the most influential writer of recent times was Karl Marx, whose writings, mostly in collaboration with Friedrich Engels, altered the course of history and continue to affect the lives of millions of people in all parts of the world. A central concern of Marx and Engels was to cure the alienation and dehumanization of man caused by what they saw as the exploitative forces of capitalism. In Marx's writings, the material dimension of history appeared as primary. Economic production was deemed the basis of life, and the prevailing ideas (religious, educational, and political) of a society were seen as being determined by its economic structure. The dominant ideas of an epoch or society were considered to be the ideas of its ruling class—that is, the class that controlled the means of material production. In order to find the hidden interest behind an idea, Marx argued, one had

to examine its social function rather than its intellectual content. Marx saw the need for a proletarian revolution in order to bring about Communism. Under Communism, he argued, the opposition between the individual and the group would disappear; each man's interests would be seen to be identical with the interests of all, and alienation would be banished.

In Marx's view, what was needed for man's growth toward maturity was genuine community; that is, the voluntary drawing together of autonomous and socially responsible persons. The model of the educated person that Marx put forward was not the irresponsible individualist nor the coerced col-

Pragmatism evolved into a philosophy that saw man as formed through interaction with his natural and social environment. The educated person was always viewed by Dewey in a social context. Neither the individual nor society had any meaning without the other. Dewey created a model of the educated person as the reflective man, one who was critical of the authority of custom and tradition as the determinant of belief and action and who preferred the method of science, of "organized intelligence" as the best way to solve his problems.

Behaviourist view: In the 20th century, the use of science has been extended to the study of virtually all aspects of

In Marx's writings, the material dimension of history appeared as primary. Economic production was deemed the basis of life, and the prevailing ideas (religious, educational, and political) of a society were seen as being determined by its economic structure. The dominant ideas of an epoch or society were considered to be the ideas of its ruling class—that is, the class that controlled the means of material production.

lectivist but the accountable communal man, who attained his freedom not by fleeing from social relationship but through social relationships. Individual freedom required social authority.

Pragmatist view: Out of the America that was created by immigration, urbanization, and industrialization in the second half of the 19th century came the philosophy of Pragmatism. Associated with such thinkers as C.S. Peirce, William James, and John Dewey, Pragmatism, as the dominant American philosophy, exerted a strong influence on the shape of education in the United States, and affected educational ideas and practices in Europe and Japan. In the hands of Dewey,

human affairs. The possibilities of scientific control of men and events have brought profound changes in philosophy and education. By studying only the behavioural aspects of man, science has been able to predict and control in ways that have powerful and sometimes frightening implications.

Existentialist view: The application of science to ever more aspects of the study of man has been particularly marked in the West; but, in reaction to this trend, there has developed some criticism of the scientific way of viewing man as an object to be categorized, studied objectively, or subsumed under a generalization.

Prominent in this reaction have been Existentialist philosophers, among whom the Jewish philosopher, Martin Buber, played an outstanding role in deepening contemporary understanding of man and education. A vital concept for Buber was responsibility, viewed in terms of one's response to another. Thus, the dialogue became a central focus in his educational philosophy. The educated person was one who could listen as well as talk. And since genuine dialogue depended upon authenticity, upon being rather than seeming, one needed the courage to be oneself in relationships. Buber also urged the recognition of a continuity between learning and life, rather than the encouragement of knowledge for its own sake. He insisted that learning be related to consequent action. Thus, for Buber, the educated person was not one who merely had had his cognitive faculties trained but one whose inmost spirit had been infused by what he had learned.

Having acquainted ourselves with the historical development of the purpose and the philosophy of education during different epochs of human civilization and also having learnt the sum achievements of different societies in the field of education by pursuing different views of education, is it not relatively easier for us to opt for the best method picked out of the accumulated wealth of educational philosophy, best suited to the ethos of our society?

Having studied the historical development of the philosophy of education, we have to carve out a national education policy suiting to the material conditions obtaining in the country and conforming to the ethos of our people.

National Education Policy:

Studying the educational policy of our country, which undergoes random and cosmetic amendments, here and there,

every now and then, one is shocked to find that we never made an effort at national level to revamp our educational system to make it reflective of a coherent philosophy of education. In Pakistan no original research is being undertaken on issues of primary and secondary education, teacher training, learning cognition etc. For fifty years Pakistan has not been able to resolve the issue of vernacular vs. national language instruction, national language vs. English instruction, and given the indifference to the whole field of education research the issues are unlikely to be resolved any time soon either. We have never known if a Ph.D. degree in education is awarded anywhere in Pakistan. Also, there is currently a vacuum in the country vis-à-vis research on higher education (e.g. on questions like what really is the state of higher education?) Creating better faculty development programmes, collaborative research programmes of distance learning programmes requires learning from the mistakes of such initiatives in the past as well as creating and sharing best practices and the analytical capacity to analyze the problems of the higher education system itself.

Public Health and Medicare:

MBBS doctors are about as relevant to the health problems of Pakistan as a fleet of Rolls Royce limousines would be to its transportation problems. Preventable, often waterborne, diseases cause more than 80% morbidity in Pakistan. The focus in Pakistani higher education unfortunately continues to be on creating physicians, because that is what the urban elites want but majority of the Pakistani population cannot benefit from. Adequate health and nutrition training can go a long way towards addressing the health problems of the country.

Humanities and Natural

Sciences: The importance of humanities and natural sciences cannot be over stressed. The scientific or the

"knowledge" enterprise functions in complex environment that thrives on a habit of dissent, critical thought, and due attention to the history and diversity of ideas. Humanities make that possible. Therefore, basic and quality research in biology, physics, mathematics and chemistry is impossible in an environment where quality research and instruction in philosophy, literature, media, painting and music are not equally stressed. Furthermore, progress in engineering, computer science, or health sciences is again impossible without basic research in natural sciences and mathematics.

Social Sciences: Pakistan's huge current and future problems like ethnicity, urban rural divide, resource management, ideological cleavages, gender discrimination, preservation of our heritage, environmental degradation, population and democracy need a cadre of individuals well-versed in a variety of social sciences and having the ability to use their knowledge creatively to solve local problems. As most of the above problems are multidisciplinary, they would require interdisciplinary approaches and hence expertise. Perspectives from the disciplines of anthropology, geography, sociology, history, philosophy and public policy in addition to economics and public management would be needed to address Pakistan's problems. ♦

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Abdul Rashid obtained a BA degree from Punjab University in 1958. Commissioned in the Pakistan Army in 1959 he graduated from Command & Staff College Quetta in 1972 and served in various command and staff positions before retiring as a Lieutenant Colonel in 1984. He contributes analytical articles on Pakistani politics, economics, social issues and international relations in leading English and Urdu dailies, English magazines and Paknews.

Islamic Pakistan

Columnist **RIAZ JAFRI** discusses the correct perspective for the Constitution of Pakistan.



The Objectives Resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in March, 1949, was made a substantive part of the

Constitution of Pakistan by P.O (Presidential Order). No.14 of 1985, Art.2 and Sch.item 2 (with effect from March 2, 1985). It apart from having many highly laudable, far reaching and significantly democratic clauses has the following article as well:

Wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah; which has been grossly misconstrued and has somewhat changed the complexion of the type of the constitution and consequently the type of the government that should govern the country. Though it has been many a time amply clarified that, "No law repugnant to Qura'n and Sunnah will be incorporated by the parliament", yet it stays short of satisfying the religious parties' leaders (fundamentalists and obscurantist) who insist that, "Only Qura'n and Sunnah will be implemented in Pakistan". Not only that, on the top of it they also insist upon their interpretation of the Qura'nic injunctions and Sunnah on discussable matters. They invariably, come up with the argument that Pakistan was creat-

It was for the improvement of the socio-economic condition of the Muslims of India more than their religious need that Pakistan was created. Iqbal wrote to reluctant Quaid in 1937, reluctant to return to India to lead the Muslims, that, "The problem of bread is becoming more and more acute. The Muslim has begun to feel that he has been going down and down during the last 200 years.

ed in the name of Islam and for the enforcement of Islamic Shariat.

An effort is, therefore, made here to give the correct perspective for the creation of Pakistan and what kind of Islamic values and socio-economic systems its founding fathers had visualised.

Pakistan was NOT created for Islam, but for the Muslims of the Sub-continent. Islam was never in danger in the pre-partitioned India. As a matter of fact Islam was (and probably still is) in Deoband, Breilley, Lucknow (for the Shia) and Qadian (for Ahmedis). Akora, Okara, Mansoor, Karachi, Satellite Town Rawalpindi, Rabwah (Chanab Nagar), not any one of them has not been able to attain the stature of their pre-partitioned alma-maters.

It was for the improvement of the socio-economic condition of the Muslims of India more than their religious need that Pakistan was created. Iqbal wrote to reluctant Quaid in 1937, reluctant to return to India to lead the Muslims, that, "The problem of bread is becoming more and more acute. The Muslim has begun to feel that he has been going down and down during the last 200 years. ————. The question therefore is: how is it possible to solve the problem of Muslim poverty? ————

If you do not come back, the Muslims of India will be deprived even of the single morsel that they have now". Muslim emancipation needed a social democratic order in India offering equal opportunities to all which was not possible in Brahmanic cast ridden society of India. He wrote, "It is clear to my mind that if Hinduism accepts social democracy it must necessarily cease to be Hinduism". Iqbal convinced Quaid that such an emancipation was only possible in a free and separate State or States for the Muslims of India, where they will not face domination by the Hindu in every field.

A socio-political movement had to be launched and Muslims had to be given a separate identity of a nation. The Two Nation theory was born and Islam was its platform. In 1941, the Quaid told the students of the Punjab;

"Can't you see that a Muslim, when he converted more than a thousand years ago, according to Hindu religion and philosophy, he became a *Malechaa* (untouchable) and the Hindus ceased to have anything to do with him socially, religiously and culturally or in any other way? ————

- Can you possibly compare this with that nonsensical talk that mere change of faith is no ground for a demand for Pakistan? Can't you see the fundamental difference?"

Slogans like "Pakistan ka matlab kya? La ilaha illallah". "Lay kay rahain-gain Pakistan, Butt kay rahega Hindustan", etc. were more to identi-

fy Muslims' culture and identity as a separate nation demanding a separate country and to counter the Hinduistic *Band-e-Matram* of the Akhand Bharat than a demand for an orthodox Islamic country.

Had the Pakistan movement any religious overtones, then how could almost all Ulema oppose it, or call its leader *Kafir-e-Azam*? It is yet another matter that most of them chose to stay behind and did not migrate to the 'Land of the Pure' till after quite some time of its inception?

I do not recollect any of the Muslim League political gatherings, Executive Committee meetings or other functions commencing their proceedings with the recitation from the holy *Qura'n* or even a *Na'at* or a *Hamd* by a Maulvi or Maulana. It was always an appropriate poem befitting the occasion read out by a political worker. There was no display of religiosity in the religious sense anywhere during the Pakistan movement and yet the Islam and the Muslim nationhood was its political plank and platform.

Once Pakistan achieved, the Quaid in his very first address of 11 August 1947 to the Constituent Assembly said, "From here on Hindus will cease to be Hindus and Muslims will cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense but in the political sense. We are all Pakistanis first and then Muslims and Hindus".

Nothing could be more unambiguous about Quaid's vision of Pakistan. It wasn't that Quaid was against Islam in any way. Far from it. He had on many an occasion said categorically that Pakistan will be governed in accordance with the injunctions of Islam and *Qura'n*. Speaking at a broadcast speech from All India Radio Bombay on 13 November 1939, he said:-

"All social regeneration and political freedom must finally depend on something that has a deeper meaning in life. And that, if you will allow me to say so, is Islam and Islamic spirit — — In the

pursuit of truth and cultivation of beliefs we should be guided by our RATIONAL (capitals mine) interpretation of the Qura'n and our devotion to truth is single minded, we shall in our own measure, achieve our goal."

Similarly replying to a correspondent's question in 1946 at New Delhi, as to what type of the constitution Pakistan will have? The Quaid had replied, "I cannot say as to what type of the constitution Pakistan will have, as it is a matter for the future Constituent Assembly of Pakistan to decide, but we have our 1400 year old constitution — the *Qura'n* with us to draw from".

Now, Quaid was no doubt largely influenced by the thought of Allama Iqbal, who first conceived the idea of separate Muslim state(s) as the only political solution of the tangle in India. Analysing the problems facing Islam in the modern times, he also re-defined the true basis of a resurgent Islam in the modern world. Being an ardent believer in *Ijtehad*, he gave the dynamic solution to the problem of interpretation of Islam in the present age by observing;

"The teaching of the Qura'n that each generation, guided and unhampered by the work of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problems."

And to solve the problems, solutions to which were not clearly defined by *Qura'n* or *Sunnah*, Iqbal leans heavily upon *Ijma* — collective opinion. *Ijma* not necessarily by the Ulema, the scholars and the jurists only but by the common people also. This obviously refers to the *Qura'nic* injunction of "*amruhum shoora bainahum*". He thus infers that the modern parliaments and legislatures can take place of the bodies competent to express the collective will of the people in deciding matters of immediate import.

Quaid, too, like Iqbal believed that *Qura'n* could be a complete source of inspiration for the Muslims to help them guide their life according to the true spirit of Islam. However, *Qura'n* was to

be interpreted rationally and scientifically which could only be done by the scholars, jurists and enlightened moderates. Quaid distinctly differentiated between an Islamic Social democracy and the Theocracy and stated categorically that Pakistan will not be a theocratic state where the lives of the people could be entrusted to a few 'custodians' of religion who could impose their own brand of Islam on the masses. Islam to him, as universally accepted, is a complete code of life. A religious, social, moral, military, commercial, judicial, criminal and penal code; it regulates everything from the religious ceremonies and rituals to those of daily life; from the salvation of the soul to the health of the body; from the rights of all those to the duties of all to the individuals; from morality to crime; from punishment here to reward hereafter. Islam is not merely confined to few spiritual tenets and doctrines and rituals and ceremonies. It is a complete code regulating the entire Muslim society, every department of life, collectively and individually.

This is all what Pakistan was created for. A country to be ruled in accordance with the Islamic injunctions for the amelioration of the economically and socially downtrodden Muslims of pre-partitioned India, and not to save Islam or impose Islam of a specific brand and breed, embroiling the masses in the trivialities such as; how long should one's beard be; or at what height the *Paincha* of the shalwar should be; or could a woman work in an office along with the male workers? Islam is much above such petty matters. And Quaid wanted Islam of all ages, an Islam interpreted in the light of modern, scientific and technological age. An Islam emancipating the masses and opening to them vistas of the modern and fruitful advancement they could make and play their important role among the comity of the nations. ♦

US Policy

Columnist **FAUZIA QURESHI** says that American polity is genetically aberrant.

"The true test of civilisation is, not the census, nor the size of the cities, nor the crops, but the kind of man that the country; turns out."

-Ralph Waldo Emerson on Civilisation.

There is no doubt that the grotesque photographs of Abu Ghraib prison have caused outrage throughout the world. The world seems to be 'shocked' by the American behaviour with the Iraqi prisoners. Is it so shocking? Why have people forgotten history? Don't they know what are the foundations of American culture and civilisation? Doesn't the world know that America is a country in which the fantasies and practice of violence are seen as good entertainment or fun? Have the Americans for the first time humiliated and degraded humanity? The answer is simply 'NO'.

Lets go back to the 16th century. This was the time when the British sent all the criminals, murderers and looters to the newly found continent called America. What these criminals did to the Red Indians isn't hidden from anyone. Not only was their land including the goldmines taken away but they were humiliated in every way. This was the very first act of human degradation and abuse in a continent which later came to be known as America. There was still more to come in the

shape of African slave trading. The Africans were loaded like animals in ships from African ports to be sold and traded for life in America. The scars of these years are still afresh among the Afro-Americans.

When these British criminal immigrants acquired power they revolted against the British Empire to gain independence. The war of independence resulted in a lot of bloodshed and loss of human lives, with the result that the United States of America came into existence. Today, the so-called 'liberators', 'custodians of democracy' and 'upholders of rule of law' are the product of a continent which owes its very existence to human bloodshed, torture, slave trading, looting, human corruption, violence, plundering, rape, murder and lawlessness.

What does President Bush mean when he stated that, 'the Iraqi prison abuse was the wrongdoing of a few'? Does he mean that those 'few' weren't part and parcel of the system he comes from? Or was he trying to play down the extent of wrongdoing? Whatever the President meant, one thing has become clear that those 'few' were a product of a very 'sick' society. The claim that the abuse was 'un-American' does little to mitigate the damage that it has done as it perfectly plays to stereotypes of morally decadent Americans. It has

been proven that the Bush administration knew of these improprieties months ago. Why wasn't anything done about them?

Has the world forgotten Hiroshima and Nagasaki? The first atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on 6-8-1945 resulting in surrender of Japan the next day. This was itself an act of racism as the next bomb was dropped on Nagasaki on the 9th of the same month despite surrender. Who committed those atrocious acts? Were they also 'few' Americans? Thirty thousand people died then. Twenty thousand jumped into the sea to save their lives. Sixty thousand people became handicapped.

The future generation was either born abnormal or dead. Who was responsible then? The question isn't whether those or recent acts were done by individuals but rather as Susan Sontag has written in New York Times, "All acts are done by individuals. The issue isn't whether a majority or a minority of Americans perform such acts but whether the nature of policies prosecuted by this administration and hierarchies deployed to carry them out makes such acts likely."

In Ms Sontag's opinion, the Abu Ghraib pictures are 'us (the Americans)', that they are representative of the fundamental corruptions of any foreign occupation together with the Bush administration's distinctive policies. If there is something comparable to what these pictures show, she points out, "it would be some of the photographs of black victims of lynching taken between the 1880s and 1930s, which show Americans grinning beneath the naked mutilated body of a black man or woman hanging behind them from a tree."

Agha Saeed, a lecturer at California State University at Harvard recently said, "What this (Abu Ghraib pics) has done is to remove the fig leaf from the US occupation in Iraq. Not only did it make the Iraqi people

naked, but it made America naked in terms of its claims of abiding by the rule of law, maintaining human dignity, exercising self-restraint and having a government that's accountable and transparent." What is absurd is the statement by Mr Bush that "those who are involved will be identified and will answer for their actions." How can 'few' people answer for the 'system' which has duly authorized them to commit such acts? Does Mr Bush think that the 'mock' trials against 'few' are going to fool everyone? Or is the razing of the prison going to mitigate the loss? Ebrahim Moosa, co-director of the Centre for the Study of Muslim Networks at Duke University, Durham, NC, stated, "The abuse, 'highlights' a widespread impression held by Muslims the world over that there is very little difference in morality of the US-led forces and the Baathists they claim to have unseated. Blame must go to the top, to the people who created a climate that would allow for such abuse."

When the commander in chief (Mr Bush) uses overheated rhetoric proclaiming that every 'means' must be used to defeat terrorism and all means are legitimate, then why would the soldier not understand it to be legitimate to torture 'terrorists' in Iraq? But again this isn't the first time that they have done so. Has the world forgotten My Lai, Vietnam? The crimes at My Lai included rape, sodomy, maiming, murder and assault of civilians. Only, the commanding officer of the American Charlie Company was convicted of life imprisonment with hard labour. But within 3 days he was out of the prison on the personal instructions of President Nixon. So much for the upholders of rule of law and justice!

It is not surprising that the same techniques of interrogation have been used in Afghanistan and Guantanamo Bay. In both cases, and in Iraq, the US

army regulations on dealing with prisoners of war were bypassed since these people were regarded as 'enemy combatants' and not 'prisoners of war'. There has been a total disregard of the Third Geneva Convention on the part of US to which both the US and Iraq are parties to. It was in 2002, that Mr Rumsfeld, indicated that US would no longer be bound by the rules of the Geneva Convention about interrogating prisoners. Why? Nobody asked. But again, the roots of this American behaviour are deeply embedded in the cultural condescension and arrogance of power.

The US State Department decided to delay the release of its annual human rights report for 'technical reasons.' Why? As early as last July, Amnesty International had reported that detainees in Iraq were being randomly subjected to 'abusive' behaviour. The Red Cross also repeatedly alerted US led occupation authorities to practices it described as 'serious violations of international humanitarian law' and 'in some cases tantamount to torture.' But to no avail. Instead they were told that these practices were 'part of the process.' Ana Reisman from Connecticut remarked after seeing the grotesque Abu Ghraib pictures, "I am sick about this, scared and mortified that we are doing some of the very things we went into Iraq to stop."

A British officer recently told *The Daily Telegraph* in London, that "Americans aren't concerned about the Iraqi loss of life. Their attitude towards the Iraqis is tragic, it's awful. As far as they are concerned Iraq is bandit country. They view them as 'untermenschen'- subhuman, a term applied by the Nazis to Jews and Gypsies. But that is what they have been trained to think." That's another story that Israeli 'contractors' were there to advise American military

Intelligence officers on how to apply the Israeli art of extortion, humiliation and torture. Chris Toensing, editor of Middle East Report, a US based quarterly magazine, has remarked, "This will be taken as proof that what happened at Abu Ghraib Prison is evidence of a broader culture of dehumanizing Arabs and Muslims, based on the American understanding of the innate superiority of Christendom."

Given the convicts that the Europeans exported to the USA, American history ever since has been the bastion of criminals. Something so deeply embedded in their genes can't be whisked away with all the stockpiles of material wealth. The tragedy is that any degree of sophistication in this situation is at best a veneer which exposes their real character and intent - whether it is Iraq, Afghanistan or Vietnam.

How can a nation be expected to act surprised at its cruelty, who chooses war as a tool for building a decent society? In Jawaharlal Nehru's words, "War itself is a negation of culture and civilisation." So, Mr President, the fact remains that the abuses were systematic and very much authorised. This is a system, and not an individual's aberrant behaviour. ♦

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The writer is MSc in International Relations, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad, LLB(Hons) from London and a former research fellow at the Institute of Strategic Studies. As a research fellow at the Institute, published 'The Iran-UAE conflict over Abu Musa', 'Challenges before ECO', and 'The Nagorno-Karabakh dispute'. As a lawyer the writer interned at Afridi Angell and Khan. Currently, the writer is researching and writing in newspapers and journals.

European Union

Columnist **ZEHRA REHMAN** discussed the issues confronting the enlarged European Union.

Introduction



On the 1st of May 2004, ten countries entered the European Union, bringing the number of its members to 25, the popula-

tion of the bloc to over 450 million and its economy to \$11.6 trillion¹. However, the Union had much humbler beginnings when in 1951, the European Coal and Steel Community was created with Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg as its members. The European Coal and Steel Community later became the European Economic Community and in 1973 accepted Britain, Denmark and Ireland as its members. In 1981, Greece and in 1986 Portugal and Spain entered the EEC. In 1991, through the Maastricht treaty, the EEC was transformed into the European Union. In 1993, the Treaty on European Union came into effect and the EU was officially established. Finally, Austria, Finland and Sweden became European Union members in 1995. In May 2004, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Slovenia and the Slovak Republic became members in the largest enlargement in the European Union's history.

The EU's eastward expansion began in December 1991 when the EU signed Europe Agreements with Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

Negotiations for the entry of Hungary, Poland, Estonia, the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Cyprus into the EU began in March 1998. In December 1999, at the Helsinki summit, the EU also started membership negotiations with Romania, Slovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bulgaria and Malta. The Nice Treaty, signed in February 2001, created a framework for the enlargement of the EU. In December 2002, after the ratification of the treaty of Nice by all 15 EU members, ten states were officially invited to join the EU at the Copenhagen summit. On the 16th of April 2003, the leaders of the EU member and candidate states signed the accession treaty at Athens. The treaty was then ratified by the parliaments of all 25 states and by the European Parliament. After receiving parliamentary approval, the treaty was put before the people in national referenda in all acceding states with the exception of Cyprus.

The most recent enlargement is the most complicated, not only because of the large number of acceding members but also because eight of the new states were formerly under communist rule. These states are much poorer than the previous member states and their average GDP per capita is only 46 percent of that of the old members². The addition of these new states also greatly increases the cultural, linguistic, ethnic and religious diversity of the EU.

Problems of New Members

Each of the new members enters

the Union with its own set of problems and apprehensions. However, there are certain issues that are of common concern to all the new EU members.

1. Agricultural Subsidies:

One of the main concerns of the new EU members is with regard to the phasing in of EU agricultural subsidies over the next ten years. According to the EU's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), the EU reimburses governments for subsidies given to their farmers. Half of the EU's budget is spent on aiding its farmers. However, the new member states are only to get partial reimbursements in their first decade as members. Lesser EU subsidies will make it harder for farmers of new members to compete with those of old members who are receiving much larger subsidies. This policy would be of even greater disadvantage to those countries that are more dependent on agriculture such as Poland where 20 percent of the population is employed in the agricultural sector. The fact that these states will not enjoy equal benefits as the old members has led to a feeling of discrimination and to the view that they are not being given the status of full members.

2. Labour Mobility:

Another issue causing concern among the new members is that of labour mobility. The old members fear a flood of migrants coming from the east to take the jobs of people in the Western European states or to take advantage of these countries' welfare systems. In order to prevent such a situation, these states have put up restrictions on the free movement of workers from the new members (except for labour from Cyprus and Malta). Whereas all the old members will put in place restrictions during the first two years, some will continue with

these restrictions for a longer period. Germany and Austria are expected to curb labour mobility until 2011³, after which the EU guarantees complete freedom of movement. This issue has caused resentment in the new member states, as these policies are contrary to one of the basic principles of the EU, i.e. free movement of labour. Though this might prove beneficial to the new members by preventing a "brain drain", this has generated the feeling in these states of being part of a second tier of EU members.

3. Lack of Funding:

The most recent enlargement was both the largest in the history of the EU as well as the cheapest. The new member states get a financial package of £27 billion to cover the cost of accession. However, these states also have to contribute £14 billion to the EU budget, which leaves them with only £13 billion⁴. On the whole, these states are being given much less than the aid that is being given to old members. Whereas, in 2000, Greece received £437, Ireland £418, Spain £216, and Portugal £211 in EU aid per capita, in 2005, the per capita aid given will be only £67 to Poland, £49 to Hungary and £29 to the Czech Republic⁵. Furthermore, the new members have to start making full payments to the EU budget immediately, unlike previous acceding members who were given an interim period during which they made reduced payments.

4. Hostility of Old EU Members:

The new EU members are facing a certain degree of hostility from the old members. There was a lack of support for enlargement in the previous EU member states. This was fuelled by the press and created hostility among the people. This has led to the rise of eurosceptics in these states who are less willing to help the new members. This hostility has been the reason behind policies such as those that curb migration from the east. The rise of eurosceptics in the old members has decreased

enthusiasm for the EU in the new states. In turn, the lack of public support, as seen in the low turnout in the European Parliament elections, will make it harder for the leaders of the new states to implement EU policies.

5. Integration into the Euro Zone:

According to the terms of accession, the ten new members are not allowed to stay outside the euro zone and will eventually have to adopt the EU's single currency. However, due to their weaker economies, it may take most of them some time to be able to meet the required criteria. These states are expected to keep their currencies stable

percent. respectively. The four largest countries, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic, whose GDPs make up 80 percent of the combined GDP of all ten new states, plan on joining the euro zone by 2010. Currently all four have inflation rates that are too high to meet the euro criteria and their budget deficits are over 3 percent (Poland 4.1 percent, Hungary 5.9 percent, the Czech Republic 12.9 percent, Slovakia 3.6 percent)⁶.

The new EU members are especially eager to join the euro zone as it has been estimated that this will boost their GDP by up to 20 percent over several years, nearly double trade with other

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and within 2.25 percent on either side of a central rate against the euro for two years, they must keep their debts to within 60 percent of their GDP, their budget deficit within 3 percent of their GDP and inflation to within 1.5 percent of the three euro zone states with the lowest annual inflation rates.

Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Cyprus and Malta are planning on adopting the euro by 2007. Slovenia and the Baltic states already meet most of the euro zone criteria and only have to prove the stability of their currency over the next two years. However, Cyprus and Malta may not be able to meet that target as they currently have budget deficits of 6.3 percent and 9.7

euro members and lead to an elimination of the interest-rate risk premium, thereby diminishing the risk of investment in those countries.

Problems of Old Members

The old members of the EU have been less than welcoming to the acceding members. They have been worried that the aid they receive from the EU will now be diverted to the underdeveloped areas of the new members. Spain, which presently receives the most development aid, is the most worried in this regard.

Along with the fear of a cut in their structural aid, they fear that eventually

subsidies for their farmers will be reduced. The old members also fear that due to lower wages in the east, companies will shift their business to the new member states. They have also been worried about large numbers of migrants coming from the weak economies in the east to work in Western Europe and bring down wages. It is for this reason that these states have put restrictions on the free movement of labour.

Another reason for the lack of enthusiasm of the old members is because they feel that an EU of 25 members will be too unwieldy. They feel that decision-making will be paralysed, especially in matters requiring unanimity. It is for this reason that the idea of a two-speed Europe was put forward by France so that an inner circle may control the decision-making. Proceedings with 25 member states have also become tediously long with delegates walking out in the middle of sessions. Some states also believe that the enlargement of the EU will delay European integration and that the Union should concentrate on deepening integration instead of widening membership.

EU Constitution

With the European Union expanding from 15 to 25 members, a need was felt to change the mechanisms of the Union, which were originally designed for six members. In this regard, it was decided that a constitution would be drawn up for the EU. A convention, headed by former French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, was set up to draft a constitution for an expanded EU. The convention began drafting the constitution in February 2002 and a draft constitution was put before the EU in the Thessaloniki summit in June 2003. The new constitution gives the EU a permanent elected president of the European Council, a foreign minister, a Charter of Fundamental Rights and more power over criminal law and immigration. All amendments

to the constitution would require the approval of all member states. The constitution also provides, for the first time, an option for states to withdraw from the EU after giving a notice of two years and a clause by which a member, who has violated the basic principles of the EU, may be suspended.

At the Copenhagen summit, it was decided that the incoming states would be able to participate in the discussion to decide on future EU decision-making. It was for this reason that these 10 states participated in the Inter-governmental Conference that started in October 2003 and in the Brussels summit on the new European constitution in December of that year. However, talks on the constitution ended in a deadlock. The most important issues of contention at the Brussels summit were the system of voting, size of the European Commission, mutual defence and the mention of religion in the constitution.

The main point of contention was the system of voting in the Council of Ministers. The draft constitution proposed that a system of "double majority" voting be introduced in 2009. According to this system, for any law to be passed, it must have the support of at least half the member states provided they make up 60 percent of the population of the European Union. This system was meant to replace the voting formula agreed to in the treaty of Nice, which gave a disproportionate number of votes to Poland and Spain. According to the Nice system, Germany, Italy, France and Britain were given 29 votes each. Poland and Spain were each given 27 votes despite having a combined population less than that of Germany. Though most states were in favour of changing the Nice system, Poland and Spain refused to give up the advantageous position they had been given. This led to a collapse of the constitutional talks in December 2003 as no compromise could be reached. However, the situation changed with the change in government in Spain in March 2004. Soon after coming into

power, the new socialist government signalled willingness to compromise so that the EU constitution may be finalised in June 2004. With Poland having lost its main ally in the negotiations, the Polish government also agreed to change its stance so that an agreement may be reached. The final deal includes a revised "double majority" system requiring the approval of 55 percent of the EU states and 65 percent of the European population in order for a law to be passed. Additionally, any group that could block a law would have to be made up of at least four states.

The constitution also proposed that changes be brought about in the European Commission. It proposed that there be only 15 European commissioners and that the posts should be periodically rotated so that all countries may eventually have a commissioner. This was objected to by smaller states who wanted one commissioner per state. It has been argued that a 25-member commission would not be able to function efficiently. A streamlined commission consisting of two-thirds of the member states was decided as the final result but this was pushed back until 2014.

There were also objections to the constitutional clause on mutual defence, which calls for EU members to come to the aid of another EU member in case of an attack. Objections came from traditionally neutral countries such as Ireland and Austria who feel this would go against their principle of neutrality.

Though the proposed constitution does mention religion, it does not explicitly mention Christianity. Spain, Ireland, Italy, Malta and Poland being strongly Catholic states demanded that Christianity be mentioned in the constitution as a cultural heritage of Europe as well as a mention of "Christian values". Spain subsequently backed down from this demand after the election of a socialist government. However, other states continued to insist on the matter and in May 2004, seven members sent

a letter to the Irish presidency of the EU to address this issue. The mention of Christianity was objected to by secular states and those worried about the impact that it could have on the inclusion of predominately-Muslim Turkey into the Union. In the end, pressure from the Catholic states was resisted and the final constitution does not contain any reference to Christianity.

On the 17th and 18th of June 2004, a summit was held in Brussels in which all 25 EU members finally agreed on the EU constitution⁷. Though the constitution was agreed to by all the governments, it may still end up being rejected when put before the European people in referendum. The June 2004 European Parliament elections saw eurosceptics winning a large proportion of seats and ruling parties faring poorly. With up to nine of the EU members planning on holding a referendum on the constitution, it is expected to be rejected by the majority in some of them, particularly in traditionally eurosceptic Britain. This would make even more doubtful the future of the constitution, as rejection would mean that negotiations would have to recommence.

Effects of Enlargement

The EU's enlargement should, in the long term, greatly help in improving the economies of the new member states. These states have already started drawing investment from all over the world, as they are no longer seen as an investment risk. Foreign investment will reduce unemployment and lead to an increase in wages. This would eventually improve the standard of living and bring it closer to that of West Europe. The new member states have before them the example of Ireland, which after joining the EU made a complete economic turnaround and rid itself of poverty and high unemployment. Once they join the euro zone, their GDPs and trade will increase and interest rates would be lowered. A single market with the same rules will enforce Europe's political and economic power. The new states will also begin receiving

structural aid from the EU. It has been estimated that the overall economic gain of enlargement to the old 15 members will be about £9 billion and about 22 billion to the newcomers.

The former communist states also view the enlargement as a guarantee of their sovereignty. After having fought so hard to achieve independence from communist rule, these states were fearful that their independence might one day again be taken away from them. By joining the EU, their sovereignty has been guaranteed to them. The inclusion of these states is also of great symbolic significance as it brings an end to the Cold War divisions of Europe.

The enlargement is also going to change the foreign policy orientation of the EU. Eight of the new member states spent over half a century under communist rule. Therefore, they attach much more importance to their relationship with the United States than most of the old members. Most of the new members supported the US war on Iraq and seven of them have even sent troops as part of the US-led coalition forces. Furthermore, they continue to support the US at a time when many in the old member states, even former war supporters, are trying to distance themselves from its policies in light of the situation in Iraq⁸. With the entry of ten new states, a common European foreign policy becomes much harder to achieve.

Above all, as demonstrated by the negotiations on a European constitution and the failure to agree on a new European Commission president, a European Union of 25 is also going to make the process of decision-making slower and more complicated. With 25 different sovereign countries involved, reaching a consensus is more difficult than ever before.

Conclusion

Though the recent enlargement is the largest that the EU is ever likely to see, the EU plans to expand further eastward into the Balkans, former

Soviet satellites and even Turkey. The main purpose of the EU is to bring peace to Europe and economic prosperity to its member states. Keeping that in consideration, most of Europe feels that, despite the problems associated with enlargement, in the long run it would be a greater risk not to proceed with the "reunification" of the continent.

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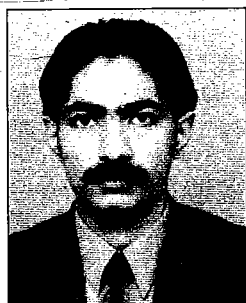
ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Zehra Rehman was born on 28th February 1981 in Karachi. She had her schooling in Australia, France, England and Bahria College. She graduated in Political Science and French from C.B. College, Rawalpindi in 2001. She has recently completed her M.Sc. in International Relations from Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad, securing top position. She represented Pakistan in the Japan – South Asia Youth Forum in Tokyo in September 2002. She has also studied languages and has a good command over French. She is interested in research work and would like to work on human right issues.

Intolerance and Misunderstanding

"Si nous ne trouvons pas des choses agréables, nous trouvons du moins des choses nouvelles"
if we do not find anything pleasant, at least we shall find something new. **Voltaire**

JIBRAN RIAZ says that we must build up tolerance so as to understand the other's point of view.



The subject of violence is a familiar topic to the Pakistani public today, as it is to the Palestinian, Iraqi, Afghani, or American public. A

greater preoccupation with violence may be observed throughout the world. There is apprehension regarding the overall rate of crime, including those offences, which involve personal violence. Moreover, the public is generally unhappy with the criminal justice system and law enforcement agencies (the 'government' in popular parlance). It is indeed a fact that violence at domestic as well as at international level is increasing at a rate that defies logic. Something is amiss — the right attitude and the proper perspective.

Let us be honest. We habitually blame 'government' every time a thing goes wrong. It is a word that has been ignorantly semantically modified to include almost every institution, all

activity that goes on around us. If we have more accidents, it is the negligence of government. If we have episodes of sectarian or ethnic killings, only the government is responsible. In addition, if terrorists who thwart our peace, even that is because of government's inefficiency. It hardly needs to be pointed out that in most of the cases we are ourselves responsible. This cannot go on any longer. We must either accept that we are not being true to what the situation demands, or wait for this ceaseless plague to prosper to such proportions that we shall find it difficult to control the menace.

For the sake of simplicity, let us call all the events that involve crime a violence of some sort, sometimes against individuals, and sometimes against society. Crimes are acts that pose a threat to society; criminals people who commit such acts. All acts of violence are perpetrated by those who, like cunning economists, calculate the advantages accruing from it. While they may be excellent economists, they are certainly bad human beings.

A person commits a crime as a rational economic choice. If the gains through criminal activity exceed the gains through other resources, he will commit the criminal act. Increasing the cost of criminal activity by making apprehension and conviction more likely can significantly decrease its rate, and the law-enforcement agencies are doing it well at their own place. But for an ordinary citizen, these criminals be those who trot on the same earth, yet they do not know the value of life, the most gullible people, and, not surprisingly, why so dangerous. Their ignorance is the death-pill for otherwise compassionate humanity. They are the ones who corrupt the just struggle simply by confusing our perceptions and responses.

It is true that media has helped distort the realities and accentuate crime. It is true that how we feel about crime is largely a matter of the information we receive about it. In America, the big macho men do inspire the youth to freely handle guns and use drugs. Freud's insights into aggression have not helped us become any saner. Most of our films also have the bullet-ridden scripts and most of the youth here also feel the same urge but the blind freedom to do anything has still not lost its way. Still, it is prevention that we have

to look for, and not the cure. Let us not fool ourselves that information can itself generate absurd response. It is only through journals and newspapers that communicable information is decoded. Entertainment itself has been made of tool by intolerance!

Social and economic inequalities force people to do things that they ought not to do. But then, if one knows, one must also differentiate. From Karo-Kari to the murder of men offering their prayers in masjid, all are acts that must be condemned in the strongest sense. But apart from condemnation, they must also be stopped. Our religion teaches peace, our values empathy, our future must then yield happiness.

responsibility of public itself. Just as police officers, politicians, or lawyers are our sons and brothers, so are the criminals. What breeds intolerance is to be curbed and this is, one must confess, the responsibility of public – each individual and not a collective assemblage where responsibility eludes.

Tolerance is not easy to generate. It comes with facing the realities in a realistic fashion. It comes with hope and optimism. It comes with understanding how people behave in various circumstances. Our evolution, if nothing else, must make us choose more rational solutions to our problems other than the emotional or the impulsive ones. Sociologists and psychologists are interested in how the preference for

as powerful constraints against such ignoble crimes. This is the virtue of socialization. We must reject flawed or deviant socialization that is being encouraged by our silence at present.

Moreover, if we know what we want, 'government' will have to give that to us. Vigilance and accountability do not chain but motivate those whom we hold responsible for our peace. Police, the frontline of defence against crime and the gatekeepers of criminal justice system, serves only as an intake mechanism; what and how efficiently the suspects are dealt with, after apprehension, is the other important factor that keeps the system effective. (By the way, another semantic distortion is counting 'police' as the whole Criminal Justice System itself).

Law is just a piece of paper if the people do not support it. The dictates of law are approvals of public. A multitude of laws and acts cannot help, nor can weapons, or punishment. Limits prescribed by God are a sacred trust and the exercise of authority has to be within those limits – that is what describes our character. The principles of freedom, equality, tolerance, and social justice are the essence of our will. Let us follow the spirit of our Constitution. Let us vow to accept the responsibility for exterminating violence before it leaves us with no response at all. Let us educate ourselves to inquire into the serenity of peace! ♦

Social and economic inequalities force people to do things that they ought not to do. But then, if one knows, one must also differentiate. From Karo-Kari to the murder of men offering their prayers in masjid, all are acts that must be condemned in the strongest sense. But apart from condemnation, they must also be stopped. Our religion teaches peace, our values empathy, our future must then yield happiness.

Law enforcement agencies have served us well for a long time. They will continue to do so. And we as responsible citizens have to show faith in them and trust them. There can only be a few police officials who do not respect the rule of law, or who are inefficient. Why do we fail to see how without them we are insecure all the more? We must encourage them, and participate in our governance, and they will be bound to improve themselves further. With responsibility comes authority, and with trust, efficiency.

All these things are significant but one thing in this cycle of violence is the

violence is generated but we can be interested in justifying our part in deterring such miscalculated crimes?

Literature and humanities in general, are indispensable for nourishing understanding of one's own culture and society as well as other cultures. Study of comparative religions fosters respect for other religions. These things will define the worth of human life. One fights against injustice not through bombs but through actions. One gets rid of one's problems not by cursing others but by realizing one's own faults and rectifying them. Informal norms, moral values, religious beliefs, and cultural ideas serve

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Born and bred in Lahore Jibran Riaz, a student of Persian and French languages, did his O' levels in 1993 and A' levels in 1998 in English Literature, World History, Maths and Urdu. In 2000 he obtained BA degree in English Literature, Psychology and Persian from Government College Lahore and is a Gold Medallist (1st position, 2002) in MA (Literature). At university he was editor of The Ravi, a member of the Seniors Club and participated in theatre activities at the French Cultural Centre and Rafi Peer Theatre.

In the last twenty years, the role of non-state actors has gradually increased. In addition to local impact, their actions are now having wide ranging international repercussions. These non-state actors have jumped on the world stage with a big bang thus spoiling the traditional norms. They have changed the international political and military map dramatically. They are disrupting the status quo by violently undermining the very basis of authority of the state and its leadership. In some cases, these groups are struggling against their own state while in other cases they have found a fertile ground at another place to act against a particular government.

The Day of The Jackal

Columnist **HAMID HUSSAIN** describes the Non-State Actors in the National Security of Nation States.

Throughout the world, states have the monopoly of instruments of policy making and implementation. More importantly, it is generally accepted that only state can have the monopoly over the instruments of organized violence to serve the national interest of the state. Individuals and groups have fought against state machineries throughout human history. In most cases, their effect was local and temporary. They were able to evoke romantic and heroic emotions among a section of society, however practical impact of their armed struggle was limited. In case of struggle for independence from foreign rule, the armed groups were part of a larger political struggle and after achieving the goal, their role terminated. In some cases they were successful in winning concessions from the state. In post cold war era, a rapid change occurred where many states disintegrated creating new security chal-

lenges. Secessionist movements, civil wars and creation of pockets of stateless zones provided ideal place where guerrillas, terrorists and criminals operated free of state constraints. In addition, globalization of economy and increasing movement of people allowed dissenters a safer environment. Criminalisation of political movements and easy availability of small arms resulted in a rapid escalation of violence in many countries. Facing such enormous odds, paradoxically state became weaker. In many countries economic, political, social and security factors contributed to gradual evaporation of state sovereignty in many areas. Faced with enormous external and internal pressures, state's authority to exercise sovereign autonomy was undermined.

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wide ranging international repercussions. These non-state actors have jumped on the world stage with a big bang thus spoiling the traditional norms. They have changed the international political and military map dramatically. They are disrupting the status quo by violently undermining the very basis of authority of the state and its leadership. In some cases, these groups are struggling against their own state while in other cases they have found a fertile ground at another place to act against a particular government. Indiscriminate violence is occurring all around the globe irrespective of the religion. Orthodox Christian Serbs participated in genocide of Bosnian Muslims and Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka have introduced the modern day 'kamikaze' operations. However, it is the extremist Muslim groups, which are making the headlines as the phenomenon is spread over many Muslim countries and has been able to hit high profile targets. It is their global reach, which has given them a global projection.

Weaker nations are subject to different kinds of pressures including

political, economic, diplomatic and military. Non-State actors are trying to recruit more people to their ranks by proposing that their methodology of hitting the 'softer' targets in an indiscriminate fashion will thwart the strength of the powerful enemy. In this struggle they draw the line black and white. Anyone, who is not with 'us' is a fair target. Extremist Muslim groups have killed and bombed their own compatriots and co-religionists with same zeal as 'non-Muslim' enemies. In Egypt, Algeria, Afghanistan and Pakistan, these groups have used indiscriminate violence, which have resulted in more deaths of Muslims than non-Muslims. Similar pattern is emerging in Iraq and remembering the recent brutal past it is very likely that for the next one or two decades different segments of Iraqi society will engage in a very vicious and brutal showdown with each other. So far, none of Muslim extremist groups has presented a coherent political alternative to complement their violent arm. When directly confronted, all of them point to a utopian society based on a mythological past with no serious critical self-analysis.

In most cases, general military strategy is focused on a conventional regional war, which is limited to a certain area of geography. Conventional military operations are based on two important calculations of 'quantification' and 'predictability'. One can count fighter jets, tanks, ships, missiles and all other sophisticated equipment of war machine and use these numbers to its advantage sometimes even without using them. The second aspect is of predictability, which is the essence of all war games. If I move this tank division, the enemy will move his. If I hit this airbase, the enemy will respond in that fashion. Non-state actors totally bypass these two vital elements of conventional warfare. A small cell of two or three people can

pull off a major operation as it is aiming for the 'soft' target, which is far away from the battlefield. It is totally unpredictable. One day it uses an aircraft, next day it hits a train station and on third day a pizza shop. The battlefield is not limited to a select space but is dragged all the way back to the adversary's rear. The threat of non-state actors is thus to some extent non-quantifiable and unpredictable.

Non-State actors work in a complex international environment. They take advantage of the constraints under which a nation state works. They try to dampen the enormous power clout of the state. Availability

terms the very cause of these persecuted Muslim minorities have been seriously undermined by the random violence of diverse groups with no clear political agenda. In addition, there is now a clear and present danger of civil wars in different Muslim countries. Most Muslim countries have diverse populations. Some have significant non-Muslim segment while others have Muslims belonging to different denominations with many theological and ritual differences. Indiscriminate use of violence especially under the banner of religious symbols by every disgruntled group will shatter the very fabric of these

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of modern instruments of travel and communications has markedly augmented the lethality of these operations. In addition, differences among nation states provide them with necessary space for manoeuvre. They attempt to adopt a genuine cause most of the time symbolically to gain general sympathy if not active cooperation from a wider segment of the society they operate in. Organised violence is an accepted norm when accompanied with a political goal. In case of Muslim extremist groups, the persecution of Muslims in Palestine, Kashmir and Chechnya is often referred to but in practical

fragile societies. If serious measures are not taken by different segments of the society to prevent coming disasters, we may see serious strife in Saudi Arabia, Syria, Algeria, Morocco and Pakistan. This will create the ideal environment for the adversaries to fish in the troubled waters. Looking this serious danger only through the prism of anti-Americanism will not serve the interests of these countries. On the other hand, in countries with significant Muslim minorities, Muslims will come under increasing suspicion and discrimination. In many of these countries, Muslims are not integrated and

an overreaction by state will further alienate them. From these alienated youth, extremist groups will be able to recruit new allies. This will not only exacerbate present crisis such as in Kashmir and Chechnya but we may see new ones such as in south of Thailand, Burma and even in some countries of Europe.

In many countries where these extremist groups are concentrated have a conducive environment for such activities. Most of these countries that gained their independence from colonial rule are struggling with many problems. The first and foremost is the development of the concept of a 'nation'. The basic unit of loyalty is still the smaller tribe, clan, ethnic or sectarian unit. For almost half a century many of these countries are trying to develop a cohesive national identity. In this effort, various symbols of nationhood including military have been used with some success. Political, social and economic problems put a severe strain on this embryonic concept of nationhood in these societies. Most of these countries have seen enormous civil strife due to rapidly increasing polarisation of the society. In case of Pakistan, the previous violent showdown between state and non-state actors was ethnic based. In 1971, the eastern wing of Pakistan seceded on the basis of a separate ethnic identity and emerged as an independent Bangladesh. In 1970s, state was fighting Baluch ethno-nationalist forces, in 1980s, in rural Sindh, ethno-nationalist Sindhis combined ethnic cause with banditry while in 1990s, in urban Sindh, Muhajir identity was merged with fascist themes. In all these cases, one ethnic group had a clash with other groups first but when they crossed the fine line and collided with state, the state came down heavily upon them extracting a heavy toll. Now,

the extremist religious based groups are asserting themselves against the state. In last two decades, these groups were aligned with the military and were actively trained and supported to fulfil the country's foreign policy agenda. In changed international environment, military had to quickly change its policy, which ultimately brought extremist groups in direct opposition to the military. In many Muslim countries, ideologically many reformist Muslim movements have tried to bypass all these different levels of loyalties by stressing on the larger concept of the 'Ummah', the brotherhood of faithful. The overwhelming majority has not adopted violent means to achieve their political goals. However, a number of extremist groups are using the same concept to their own advantage by drawing new recruits and find safe havens in diverse Muslim communities all around the globe. The case of a small group of extremists in Uzbekistan gives an interesting insight into this phenomenon. After independence from Soviet yolk, a religious leader Tahir Yaldash and a former Soviet paratrooper Jumaboi Khojaev (known by his nom de guerre Juma Namangani) joined hands and formed a political group Adolat (Justice). Government drove them underground by banning the group. It was renamed Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) which took to the violent path. The hardcore members ended up in Afghanistan under the protection of Taliban. This inevitably entangled them in local disputes. These Uzbeks fought alongside Taliban troops against Afghans belonging to Northern Alliance. In addition, Namangani participated in Tajikistan's civil war. Yaldash set up cells in Central Asia thus broadening its base. In 2001, when US forces attacked Taliban, IMU members

fought fiercely before retreating. Later, during Operation Anaconda in 2002, they also fought in *Shah-e-Kot* mountain range inflicting casualties on US forces. Some of these fighters later retreated to the border tribal region between Afghanistan and Pakistan where they found some sympathizers, which sheltered them. In March 2004, Pakistani armed forces suffered significant casualties in encounters with these fighters in South Waziristan. A group, which originally started to increase its participation in the political process of its country, wandered away so far. They ended up fighting in the civil war of their host countries and armed forces of different countries with whom they had no direct conflict thus assuring their own decimation.

One partial success of some extremist Muslim groups is weakening of the national bond by appealing to a larger concept of 'brotherhood of believers'. This is shown by the fact that during the US attack on Taliban in Afghanistan, one of the groups which fought aggressively on the side of Taliban was the Uzbek fighters from IMU. Similarly, many Chechen fighters fought to the bitter end rather than surrender to superior forces. A Kashmiri was involved in a suicide-bombing attempt to assassinate President Musharraf of Pakistan. In this plot several soldiers of Pakistan army and air force were also involved. Two second generation British citizens of Pakistani origin were involved in a suicide bombing in Israel. Out of about one billion Muslims in the world, a few thousand is a negligible number but the negative fall out on Muslim communities worldwide is disproportionately very high. The actual fighters may be small in number but the broader sympathy, which these groups generate among general population, is more subtle and widespread. In private conversations, people from different walks of life in

Muslim world from the illiterate peasant to the highly educated from a western university do not see these groups as threats to their societies. They see them essentially as a reaction to hegemonic western policies. Some may even see them as potential allies in thwarting the pressure on the state from a powerful adversary. Many Pakistani religious scholars have issued religious decrees that it was not permissible for Pakistan army to act against these foreign fighters. This is a new phenomenon. When military acted severely against the rebellion of its own Muslim citizens of Bengal in 1971 and from 1973-78 against Baluchs, most religious groups and leaders sided with the military. A retired Pakistani air force officer who had worked with Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) in 80s denounced his own army for targeting these foreign fighters. He stated that 'The same army that invited young Muslims here to fight 20 years ago, trained and welcomed them, and lived with them, is now killing them'. Praising these fighters and denouncing his own comrades, he added that 'for these fighters, there can be nothing better than to leave this world fighting against an army guilty of committing acts of terror against its own people'. New fault lines are being created in these fragile societies, which is not a good omen for future. Majority of population has not yet comprehended the potential devastating effects of the increasing power of non-state actors. They may very soon get a rude awakening. This sympathy among general population restricts government's ability to tackle extremist groups.

State has many restraints and has to calculate the response of the adversary. However, these non-state actors can be used to reap the military dividends without the negative fallout as the state can deny any association with them to prevent the backlash. Pakistan saw various mil-

itant groups operating in Indian controlled Kashmir with this view. No Pakistani general could think of attacking a major Indian town without calculating the possibility of the reaction. However, a militant group can launch a spectacular attack on the parliament building in the heart of the Indian capital or get involved in a running gun battle at an Indian Corps Headquarter. Syria would have to calculate a devastating reaction if it dared to attack an Israeli post on border. However, supporting a Hizbollah detachment in Lebanon can result in raining of several rockets or killing or abduction of

(prophet Muhammad (SA))". One can easily visualise the potential dangers to society from such approach. After September 11, 2001, dramatic change in international environment has forced many countries to review this relationship. In addition, while using armed militias, the decision-makers have not thought through the devastating effect on the civil society of such adventures. First, the adversary can payback in the same coin by supporting disgruntled groups of the country. An alienated Sindhi or Baluch can also use a Rocket Propelled Grenade Launcher (RPG)

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many Israeli soldiers on patrol. In Bangladesh, police authorities patronised armed group Jagrota Muslim Janata Bangladesh (JMJB) to undermine leftist resistance group called Sarbahara. Emboldened by official patronisation, the group is enforcing its own moral codes on local population. It is accused of extortion, abducting opponents and forcing men to grow beards and women to cover themselves up. In an interview, the group's leader Aziz ur Rahman alias Bangla Bhai stated that "our goal is to root out Sarbahara men and corruption from society, seize illegal weapons and establish the ideal of the Rasul

to ambush a police or army patrol or blow a gas pipeline. The control of these groups with diverse interests and aims is not an easy task. Each group has its own agenda and if it feels strong enough it will defy its creator. This phenomenon was seen with a large number of commanders inside Afghanistan during the civil war in that country. Similarly, the attack on Indian parliament by militants in December 2002 was deliberately planned to escalate tension between India and Pakistan so that Pakistan army now limiting the role of armed groups should be forced to reverse its course. In any organisation, only a small core is ideological-

ly committed, many have other reasons to climb on the wagon. Personal, social, economic and other interests play in this complex game of intrigue. In case of Pakistan, many of these extremist armed groups have splintered into factions and sub-factions, each with its own patron, source of income and agenda. Many a times, these splintered groups have fought battles about resources and control. Extremists belonging to many sectarian groups use their links with external patrons, government agencies and religious political parties to avoid crack-downs. There has been an alarming rise in deadly sectarian attacks which now includes target assassination of prominent figures or educated elite of the target community regardless of any political affiliation and suicide attacks on places of worship. As the high profile targets are difficult to hit, the extremist may choose a wide variety of soft targets and 'bystanders'. We already saw attacks on churches, hospitals and mosques in Pakistan and we may see worsening of this pattern in near future. In addition, in view of the weakening writ of the state, some aggressive extremist groups may get bolder. If the government decides to crackdown on these groups, they may use their strengths to hit high profile targets associated with the government in dare devil way to unnerve the decision-makers.

Non-state actors have many limitations also. They are not monolithic and differences of ideology and methodology quickly result in fratricidal wars as evidenced by the internal strife of Egypt, Algeria and Afghanistan. They may be able to kill the 'pharaohs' but their own base is too narrow and the state is still a powerful adversary, which can gather many allies, as people in general are more afraid of anarchy than a bad government. In some cases, the

methodology of these extremist groups has done exactly the opposite by inviting direct intervention of foreign forces, which wouldn't have happened otherwise. The case in point is Afghanistan. If they can hurt an adversary severe enough, direct invasion and near decimation of that particular group may be the outcome. In case of Pakistan, if some of them decide on a direct collision course with the military, then military will come down on them with full force. Now the action against these groups will not be viewed as a job for the Americans but to safeguard their own country from anarchy. This violent clash will be very bloody where extremists will use widespread bombing campaign while security apparatus in turn will likely respond with brutal and methodical cleansing campaign. The new ground realities create new alliances, which can further polarise the fragile societies. A clear thinking, detailed analysis of benefits and risks of any plan and a general discussion about the long term plan among different segments of society is must to achieve results with minimum collateral damage.

There has been a gradual change in the area of warfare where soldiers, guerrillas and terrorists are operating freely in ever-changing scenarios. In near future, the major challenge for the nation states will be how to counter these non-state actors. We may see a radical change in the thought process of national leaders, which will impact both the strategic and tactical measures adopted by states. On one hand we may see increased use of intelligence apparatus and covert operations to eliminate these groups and more cooperation among nation states while on other hand charging a state with harbouring or supporting extremist groups will be used to extract more concessions. In short term, liquidation of the hard core

and disruption of the existing channels may give short respite. The state may overreact by suppressing every opposition and widely using torture and extra judicial killing. This will be counterproductive in the long run. In case of Egypt, Algeria and Uzbekistan, complete stifling of every opposition voice and widespread use of repressive measures by the state has swelled the ranks of extremists. The long-term solution of the problem is a more holistic approach. This includes better understanding of each other, increased cooperation among nation states, measures to encourage establishment of representative government and better governance where citizens have a stake and say in the state affairs. Organised violence cannot be completely eliminated from the society but strengthening the civil society and its institutions can marginalise the extremist groups. Conflicts between nation states and between state and its constituent groups need a fresh evaluation. Newer approaches to conflict resolution need to be frankly discussed to avoid further bloodshed. ♦

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Born and raised in Peshawar, Hamid Hussain, graduated from the Khyber Medical College. He completed post-graduate training in internal medicine and a fellowship in Allergy & Immunology from Harbour-UCLA Medical Centre. Currently Clinical Instructor at State University of New York at Stony Brook, this Pakistani-American physician regularly contributes articles on defence and security issues of South East Asia and Afghanistan to Defence Journal and CoverAction Quarterly published from Washington DC. He has appeared on radio programmes in New York and California discussing these subjects.

India Vows to Modernise Military

Columnist **MUHAMMAD IRSHAD** says that the country's new administration is very firm in modernising the military to bring it upto par with modern armies.



India's new administration said that it would modernise the armed forces and speed up deals to bring in new hardware while

down playing rumours that military ties with Israel would be put on ice. "The objective will be to modernize the armed forces, upgrade their skills it will be a continuous process", Defence Minister Pranab Mukherjee, said in his first news conference since assuming the new office.

This present Indian thinking is exactly in line with the desire being exhibited by the Indian leadership since the dawn of their creation or even since the period before that. A short preview of the philosophy, which also might explain why the Indians are amassing the foreign hardware as well as boosting their tremendous local talents and resources could be had from the speech of the Indian Defence Minister, in their very first defence budget on 13th March 1948, when he stated, "India could not fail to recall the misery and horror and



Indian Defence Minister Pranab Mukherjee is seen here speaking about his party's defence policies in his first news conference since assuming the new office.

shameful crimes inflicted on so many of our countrymen, women and children, when hordes of well armed tribesmen and others trained in the use of arms were let loose on our civil population from the neighbouring dominion. It was therefore imperative

on the part of government of India to proceed to train our nationals in the use of arms, so that our citizen would never again be exposed to the risk and dangers, and the security of the motherland be never at stake. The cadet corp. will, I hope provide a fruitful

source of recruitment for our future officers in the armed forces."

This marked the beginning of the compulsory training for the Indian youth which in the first 25 years (till 1973) produced 30 million cadets. After 25 years of the said Indian decision, Pakistan government in August 1973, decided to start programme for defence training for various walks of life under the headings of Mujahid force, the Janbaz force, the women guards and the national cadet corp. From the very first day, these programmes were started with half-hearted moods and it is no wonder that all such programmes have been abandoned in Pakistan since last few years.

1971 has reduced our size and American presence in Afghanistan, as well as inside our country under the pretext of bases has increased our tension zones. Also geographically we do not have enough depths to permit the elastic defence of deliberate retreats and counter attacks. Any serious dent on our borders could reduce us to unstable portions which would mean (God forbid) the end of our existence. This magnifies the fact that in case of an invasion we have to protect every inch or rather try to extend our borders.

A look at those who succeeded out of similar situations like Prussian resurgence of 1813-15, Nazi Germany, Vietnam etc, accompanied by Clausewitz's "give the war to the people, the state is the people", suggests that every Pakistani must be trained for military duties. With such arrangements the task of destroying our military machine becomes much more difficult, because armies could continue to be replenished by mass conscription. (Recall that almost the total destruction of Napoleon's army in the Russian campaign did not stop Napoleon for two more years.) As a matter of fact we should have decided this, the day Junagarh,

Mangrol and Manavadr were forcibly occupied by Indians.

What we have failed to understand, a greater part of the world has already implemented. The "Military Balance" gives military details of about 120 countries, out of which 80 have compulsory military training in some form. This list includes countries like America, Russia, France, UK etc as well as countries like Austria, Finland and Switzerland whose securities have been guaranteed by Superpowers. (Regrettably the most obvious "missing" in the list is the Islamic block, which hardly have any such military training programmes).

known research laboratories and weapons production facilities engaged in the development and manufacture of nuclear warheads and missile delivery systems. The pool was given extensive overt and covert training in various countries including America, Israel, Russia and France. Just as an example, the architect of Indian Agni programme Dr Kalam, received four months training in 1963-64 at NASA's Langley Research Centre in Virginia (Where US scout rocket was designed) and the Wallops Island Flight Centre on the Virginia coast (where the scout was flight tested). It is no wonder that Indian Agni is

The Indians, from the dawn of their creation are building the military prowess of their country at a logarithmic pace. Look at any facet, and their investment is five to ten times more than us. Let us briefly look at their nuclear programme. Starting from 1974 till todate, Indians have invested at least 40 times more than our input. Their wooping investment easily crosses the \$ 200 billion mark.

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This budget accompanied by a reasonably good planning, resulted in India having a pool of more than 10,000 nuclear scientists, making it the third largest nuclear scientists pool in the world, working in more than 45

a copy of American Scot missile programme. Also in May 1998, more than 250 Indian scientists were thrown out of America as a gesture of explosion-annoyance by America, indicating the Indian never-ending love for foreign training. No strategic mind can ever be convinced that these facilities exist solely to address national security needs. It is only an attempt to rationalise the deep seated urge to dominate, and be the successors to the British hegemony in the region.

When it comes to the list of purchasing foreign hardware, probably India is the top purchaser of Military hardware in the world. The Indian

thinking to bolster their military machines still possess the same spirit, zeal and enthusiasm. Let us talk of some recent military acquisitions, most of which are still in the pipeline.

After a prolonged series of negotiations, some of which have lasted for more than ten years, India will be leasing and purchasing highly-advanced defence technology from Russia, historically its primary arms supplier. Russian Defence Minister Sergei Ivanov recently said that the Russian Federation and the Soviet Union before it sold \$33 billion in arms to India since 1960. Although the relationship cooled following the collapse of the Soviet Union, recent years have seen India take out substantial contracts to purchase and manufacture Russian fighter jets and trainer aircraft. The lease-purchase agreement for two *Akula-II* class nuclear submarines was recently concluded after two years of negotiations. The *Akula-II* is the quietest and most advanced Russian-built nuclear fast-attack submarine, designed to operate undetected for prolonged periods in extremely deep waters. The *Akula-II* has the capacity to launch anti-ship missiles and highly advanced long-range and rocket-propelled torpedoes.

In addition to the submarine lease-purchase, on January 20, 2004 India signed a \$1.5 billion contract to purchase the 44,500 ton retired Russian aircraft carrier *Admiral Gorshkov*. While the aircraft carrier itself is coming for free, a substantial refit will be undertaken to bring the vessel upto modern Naval standards. The cost of this refit is to be in the region of \$ 700 million. A related \$ 700 million contract will supply the Indian Navy with around 16 carrier based MiG-29 aircraft, 12 of which will be single seat "K" variant and four will be dual seat "KUB" variant. The Kiev-class vessel has been sitting idle since 1990, three years after it entered service with the

Soviet fleet. The *Gorshkov* is scheduled to become operational in 2008, the same year the long-serving Indian carrier *INS Viraat* is scheduled for decommissioning. Should delays in refitting the *Gorshkov* setback its arrival, India will be forced to keep the *Viraat* in service or risk creating a severe gap in naval air capability. The Indian Navy is also talking of six Kamov-31 attack and reconnaissance helicopters, the details of which are not available.

According to *Times of India*, Indian Defence Secretary as having confirmed that India had acquired the advanced Green Pine radar from Israel. Green Pine is said to be capable of tracking a missile for 400 kilometres and is normally used in conjunction with Arrow anti-missile missiles. Arrow is also made by the Israelis and combined with the Green Pine all-weather radar, it forms an umbrella of protection that India is longing for in the face of Pakistan's impressive surface-to-surface ballistic missile inventory.

India is also to get three American designed, Israeli manufactured Phalcon Radars fitted on IL 76 aircraft. Major General Dan Halutz, Chief of the Israeli airforce arrived in New Delhi on February 25, 2004 on a four day visit to seal an agreement for the 1.1 billion dollar sale. These "flying Radars" will not only be used for electronic spying, but more importantly as a force multiplier command, control and communications platform. It is important to understand that the airborne Phalcon could "see" static and moving objects on the ground, at sea and in the air. It could guide strike aircraft and interceptors to attack targets on the ground and in the air with accuracy. By keeping an eye on the PAF airbases it will detect PAF aircraft on the ground, i.e. on the tarmac, taxi tracks or runways. Once airborne, the Phalcon Radar will accurately

monitor the flight pattern of as many as 62 aircraft simultaneously. Pakistan claims to be a partner of US on the war on terrorism, but this is a clear case where US had acted to sabotage and weaken Pakistan's defence capability and has enhanced Indian offensive power.

India is also to cooperate with the US in the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI). The PSI aims to strengthen international partnerships in the effort to halt nuclear proliferation and trafficking. It is also likely to give authority to India to interdict Pakistan ships suspected of carrying the nuclear stuff. The authority which India is definite to use is to the highest extent. If India chooses to sign the PSI, it will have the option to acquire the necessary nuclear defence systems to participate, explained a senior Indian Defence Ministry official. The sale of US technology was discussed during the Secretary of State Colin Powell's March 16-17 visit with Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee and Foreign Minister Yashwant Singh. India has already purchased \$160 million worth of artillery-tracking radars and is currently negotiating for a \$200 million transaction of unspecified special forces equipment.

The US and India have also made the decision to cooperate in the field of space and nuclear civil energy. The two nations have already engaged in various military exercises. The biggest ever joint air exercises were in a ten-day event that began February 16, 2004 code-named Cope India 04. This is the first joint dissimilar air combat training exercise ever held between the US and India.

The Indians are busy in a race to expand the quality and quantity of their armed forces. Present Indian Army is twice the size of Pakistan Army. Indian armour and artillery strength is about three times that of Pakistan. IAF is twice as large in combat aircraft, but five times larg-

er in state of the art strike aircraft. IN is five times larger than the PN, except that PN's submarine fleet is more modern. This imbalance must be redressed. With this strength and the frenzy of adding more arsenal to add to the capability, how should Pakistan respond?

For the first time in its 57-year history, Pakistan has announced the downsizing of its army, by 50,000 troops, probably this retrenchment is with the hope that it would send positive signals across the borders, and sanity might prevail to make this region, ultimately to be the region of peace. However, India has dismissed the Pakistani gesture as "no big deal". The decision to cut the size of its 600,000-strong army by nearly 10 percent was taken at a two-day meeting of the army top brass, chaired by President General Pervez Musharraf, in Rawalpindi.

The downsizing comes at a time when relations between India and Pakistan are looking up. The two sides are observing a ceasefire along their international border and the Line of Control in Kashmir and guns have remained silent along their frontier since November last year. When Musharraf first spoke about the proposed downsizing of the army in March in the course of a speech via satellite to a conclave organised by the Indian newsmagazine *India Today*, he described the move as an initiative to cut down defence expenditures.

Some experts feel that Pakistan's decision to downsize its army appears to be, in part, an attempt to meet International Monetary Fund (IMF) requirements. The IMF requires all debtor nations to cut defence expenditures to well below 3 percent of their gross domestic product (GDP), a limit Pakistan has consistently exceeded for years.

The army's fighting capacity will not suffer as a result of the reduction. On the contrary, the downsizing aims

at sharpening its "teeth in a cost-effective way", making the Pakistani army a "lean and lethal" fighting machine. As Brigadier Fayyaz Ahmed Satti told the *Agence France Press*: "The savings resulting from troop reduction (mostly batsmen) will be used to further upgrade the fighting capability of the army."

India's response to Pakistan's downsizing of its army has been cautious. An editorial in the *Indian Express* argues that the move to cut troop strength would be welcome if it was based on "reduced threat perceptions" from India: "Even if the move was meant to be a symbolic

India. It is widely seen as an attempt by Islamabad to show the world that Pakistan is serious about making peace with India and is backing its statements with action on the ground.

"Pakistan's decision to downsize its army is not the result of a change of heart or of priorities," an official in India's Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) told *Asia Times Online*. "The Generals are not doing this out of concern for the country's lagging social sector. They are not about to save funds and direct it towards human development." Outlining the multiple factors that are behind Pakistan's

Outlining the multiple factors that are behind Pakistan's downsizing of its army, the MEA official said that the move "is part of Pakistan's persistent effort to score brownie points with the international community, particularly the West, on the India-Pakistan issue. It is also in response to pressure from international financial institutions to freeze its military spending."

one, linked in even an oblique manner to the ongoing attempt at reducing tensions between the two countries, it would be welcome. The proposed cuts would be even more welcome if they were to be implemented from the army cadres manning the ISI [Inter-Services Intelligence]." The editorial goes on to say that "the official announcement does not provide any scope for optimism in this direction. In fact, what we are promised is a more 'lethal' army."

Few in India see the proposed reduction in the numerical strength of the Pakistan army as a gesture on the part of Pakistan to build confidence with

downsizing of its army, the MEA official said that the move "is part of Pakistan's persistent effort to score brownie points with the international community, particularly the West, on the India-Pakistan issue. It is also in response to pressure from international financial institutions to freeze its military spending." The MEA official pointed out that "the promise of generous military support from the US" as a result of Pakistan's new status as a "major non-NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organisation] ally" of the US will make it "easier for Pakistan to manage with a leaner army".

Now with Pakistan downsizing its army, India is bound to come under international pressure to reciprocate Islamabad's "gesture". For several years, Indian defence analysts have been calling for cutting down troop strength, especially in non-combatant areas, in keeping with new military doctrines. They have been pointing out that "cutting the flab" in the Indian armed forces would free funds that could be diverted to modernisation of equipment. In fact, in the late 1990s, Indian army chief V P Malik had undertaken cutting down the army's size by 50,000 over a two-year period by not filling in vacancies in the non-combatant categories. But following the India-Pakistan conflict at Kargil in the summer of 1999, this downsizing was put in cold storage.

The decision to downsize is a complicated one for India. On the one hand, operational efficiency and new military doctrines call for cutting flab. The Indian army's "tail" is among the longest in the world (only a third of its 1.1 million army is meant to actually fight) and there is substantial scope for trimming it. Nevertheless, as an editorial in English daily *The Hindu* points out, India's "commitments are also exceptionally demanding. Logistical challenges are formidable in India and, by some estimates, areas like Dras [where the weather and terrain is extremely hostile] need seven support personnel for each combat soldier."

The security situation in Jammu and Kashmir and other strife-torn areas of the country continue to be worrying and call for more combat personnel. India is already in the process of raising 30 additional Rashtriya Rifles battalions (an elite unit raised by the army exclusively for counterinsurgency operations in J&K) and Special Forces units as well as acquiring a massive state of the art arsenal. The ceasefire with Pakistan notwithstanding, India is not about to

drop its guard along its long frontier with its western neighbour yet.

Indeed, the size of India's army is around 1.1 million. Recent data compiled by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute reveals that India's military expenditure (at 2000 prices) was over four times that of Pakistan. India's military expenditure shot up from US\$8 billion in 1990 to \$12.8 billion in 2002. Pakistan's defence expenditure shot up from \$2.6 billion to \$3.1 billion in the same period.

With all this, talk of peace between India and Pakistan being there, many in India had started wondering why the Indians should not reduce their forces, now that Pakistan had decided to reduce its troops by fifty thousand men. That provided an opportunity to the media to approach their redoubtable Defence Minister, Mr George Fernandes to seek a response. A reporter took an exclusive interview with the honourable minister. Here are some excerpts from it.

Reporter: Sir, you must have seen the report that Pakistan, in order to save money, has decided to cut fifty thousand of its troops. Now that the threat of war with Pakistan has receded, don't you think that we too should apply a similar cut in our forces which, as you know sir, constitute the fourth largest army in the world.

Fernandes: I ask you: are we the largest democracy of the world or not?

Reporter: We are.

Fernandes: If we are the largest democracy of the world then our army should also be the largest in the world. But the fact that it is the fourth largest army means that we have already applied a three fourth economy in raising and keeping our defence forces. Secondly, territory-wise we are four times larger than Pakistan while our army is only two to three times larger. You will notice here a one fourth economy cut. Thirdly, the

cut that Pakistan has applied is on the army's tail not on its teeth. They have retained the teeth. That means their intentions are not good. They can still attack us. That being the case, why should we reduce our troops?

With such talk on Indian side, accompanied by facts such as Indians taking the opportunity of "better relations" as an occasion to completely barber-wire the LoC, against the UN and other standing ethics, makes one wonder if the Pakistani response to reduce is appropriate decision. Military mischief is the logical consequence of unchecked weapons buildup. Pakistan is not in competition with India. But Islamabad cannot ignore 42% increase in Indian defence spending within a short period of two years. Pakistan cannot allow this unabated offensive buildup to loom as a dark shadow over the country. We have an enemy whose every leader always talks of anti-Pakistan sentiments, we have an enemy where every military purchase is done with intention to brow-beat Pakistan. We have an enemy who has already cut us into two, we have an enemy which has forcibly occupied Kashmir, Siachin, Hyderabad Deccan and many other of our territories. Thus all calls for enhancement of Indian prowess must be seen with suspicion and extreme vigilance on our part. A kind of vigilance not being exhibited in the present circumstances. ♦

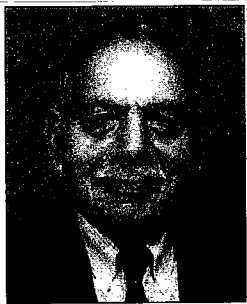
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Mohammad Irshad is an Aeronautical Engineer who retired from Pakistan Air Force as a Wing Commander in 1992. In 1980 he was given the award of 'Joint Services Best Essay Writer'. At present he is writing for few magazines and newspapers. Comments/suggestions are welcome on irshad001@hotmail.com

Prithvi Raj versus Shahab-ud-Din Mohammad Ghori

Columnist **M A GILANI** goes over the historical facts of these two heroes, **PRITHVI RAJ** for Hindus and **GHORI** for Muslims.

Introduction



During the last few years the names of **PRITHVI** and **GHORI** have earned usual publicity in the Indo-Pak sub-continent due to the missile

tests carried out by India and Pakistan. The Hindus of India regard **PRITHVI RAJ** as their hero, whereas **SHAHAB-UD-DIN MOHAMMAD GHORI** is also held in high esteem as one of the favourite heroes particularly by the Muslims of Pakistan.

Needless to say that the spirit of hero worship inspired both the countries to name their respective missiles in the names of these heroes.

My inquisitiveness revealed that many persons were not aware about the actual historical facts concerning these two adversaries. Some thought Prithvi as god of the Hindus whose statue could not be destroyed by Ghori in his first attempt. Some admitted to have known these names but showed complete ignorance about the battles fought between the two. Whereas even some well read persons were hazy

about the causes, actual site of the battles, relative strength and deployment of the armies.

Aim

The aim of this article is to highlight, in a nutshell, some of the salient historical facts for the information of those who are not aware about the same. This humble effort does not mean that knowledge of the learned readers of *DJ* is being underestimated.

Prithvi Raj

Prithvi Raj Chohan, also called Rai Pathora, was the ruler of Ajmir and Delhi, by far the strongest of all the rulers of Northern India at the end of the twelfth century. He was brave, powerful, haughty and considered the flower of Rajput chivalry. His brother **KHANDEY RAI** (or **GOBIND RAI** – some historians called him Prithvi's relative whose daughter was married to Prithvi) was the viceroy of Delhi. Prithvi's first cousin Jaichand, Raja of **KANAUJ**, had strained relations with Prithvi because their grandfather (father of their mothers) had allowed Prithvi to inherit the throne of Delhi. Also because Prithvi had abducted the beautiful daughter of Jaichand in a daring raid.

He had a formidable army consisting of infantry, archers, cavalry, and a few thousand war elephants to bull doze opponents infantry and cavalry. There were a few dozen rajas and raoes directly under his sway and a greater number were under his aggressive influence. All had allegiance to provide every possible help and placing their forces under Prithvi's command as and when required.

For the extension of his Kingdom Prithvi Raj recovered a few strategic towns and forts from the decaying hold of the successors of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi. Hansi, Hissar, Bhattinda and some other important towns were fortified. Strong garrisons were left for the defence of the North Western frontier of the Kingdom. His ambition was to capture, in Phase I territory upto the River Sutlej and in phase II upto the River Indus to threaten Afghanistan. His intelligence sources had warned him about the exploits and intention of Mohammad Ghori.

Shahab-ud-Din Mohammad Ghori

During the later half of the twelfth century in Afghanistan the Ghori Chiefs captured lot of territory from the weak and incompetent heirs of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi. They strengthened their position gradually. When Ghazni, the capital, was captured they considered themselves as the rightful claimant for the possession of the Indian provinces which belonged to the successors of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi, including those annexed by Prithvi Raj. In 1173 Ghiyas-ud-Din Mohammad became the ruler and left war like exploits to his valiant younger brother Shahab-ud-Din Mohammed Ghori. The two brothers lived in harmony and Mohammad Ghori's loyalty to his elder brother remained unblemished, although he was the Commander-in-Chief.

The First Battle of TARAWARI (Tarori – Tarain – Naraina) – 1190-91

After capturing Sind, Multan, Lahore, Sialkot and some area beyond the River Sutlej, Ghori invaded the Kingdom of Delhi. He captured the strong fort of Bhattinda and left a force of 12,000 soldiers under Zia-ud-Din for the defence of northern frontier. Since his army was not strong enough to continue exploits beyond Bhattinda Ghori commenced his return journey towards Ghazni. He had intended to invade Delhi next year at the head of a large army. While he was still in the Punjab he was informed that Prithvi Raj was about to start the reconquest of Bhattinda. He decided to meet the challenge.

Ghuri was unaware about the strength of the forces under the command of Prithvi Raj. By forced marches he reached near the village Tarawari situated close to the River SARSWATI and was informed that about 150 rajas had collected under the banner of his foe Prithvi and the strength of the army had swelled to two lacs consisting of infantry and cavalry. About 3,000 war elephants were present to support. After a quick appreciation of the situation Ghori decided to resort to spoiling attack with his meager strength. He had about twenty thousand horsemen under his command.

Tarawari or Naraina was a small village near Thaneswar the site of Kuruk Shetra the battlefield of Mahabharatta. Tarawari was 10 miles north east of Karnal, 14 miles south east of Thaneswar, 30 miles from Panipat and 80 miles from Delhi. The new name of Tarawari is Azimabad after the name of Aurangzeb's son Azim. The River Sarsawati (now a dead river) flowed near the village Tarawari.

Ghuri's force with speed crossed the river. He ordered his two wings to charge on the flanks of the enemy.

Mohammad Ghori himself with selected horsemen furiously charged the centre of the enemy in succession. After few hours of heavy fighting the enemy forces overpowered the two wings by sheer weight of numbers and the remnants were driven from the battlefield.

But the centre still stood firm. Mohammed Ghori soon found himself surrounded along with a small number but refused to quit the field. In this desperate situation he defended himself with courage. He charged the centre and created a wedge and soon found himself face to face with Khandey Rai, who was mounted on a steel protected war elephant, and shattered his teeth with the strike of his

The Decisive Battle of Tarawari – 1192-93

Mohammad Ghori recruited an army composed of Turks, Tajiks and Afghans and carried out intensive training. According to historians he never slumbered in ease, or walked but in sorrow and anxiety. He was determined to wipe out the scars of defeat. He inflicted shameful punishment on the commanders who had run away from the battlefield. He forced them to walk round the city of Ghor with their horses food bags filled with barley hanging around their necks as if they were horses and donkeys. He had raised an army of 120,000 horsemen bearing heavy

Mohammad Ghori recruited an army composed of Turks, Tajiks and Afghans and carried out intensive training. According to historians he never slumbered in ease, or walked but in sorrow and anxiety. He was determined to wipe out the scars of defeat. He inflicted shameful punishment on the commanders who had run away from the battlefield.

lance. Ghori also received a wound and would have fallen from his horse from loss of blood but a faithful soldier with great presence of mind sprang upon his horse and carried him to a place of safety. Prithvi's forces followed the fugitive but gave up the chase after surrounding the fort of Bhattinda which had a garrison of about twelve hundred men. It took Prithvi Raj thirteen months to recover it after having been evacuated due to lack of supplies. In the meantime Mohammad Ghori returned to Ghor and had spared no pains to reshape his army for avenging the defeat.

armour. A force of 12,000 chosen horsemen was directly under his command. Spare weapons and supplies were carried. Special squads were trained to deal with elephants. The routes of advance of the main body were kept secret. Before the advance, parties were sent to arrange for crossing of the rivers en route and collection of supplies. His intelligence sources were sending information about the preparations of Prithvi Raj and the strength of his army.

The intelligence of Prithvi Raj was also active in collecting information about Ghori's preparations and

strength of his army. Even the routes to be used by Ghori's forces were known but no effort was made to intercept the advancing forces. According to historians Prithvi Raj's army consisted of 3 lacs horsemen, about 50 thousand infantry soldiers and 3,000 war elephants. Over 150 rajas and all the commanders had taken oath of the sacred water of the Ganges that they would win victory over the enemy or sacrifice their lives for their religion.

By forced marches Mohammad Ghori reached near the River Sarawati and found Prithvi Raj's army concentrated in the area of Tarawari the old battlefield. Both

were not yet ready because of the surprise achieved by Ghori.

Hurriedly Prithvi Raj divided his vast army in many divisions and kept the war elephants in front. After inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy Ghori's forces, according to the plan, withdrew from the front and when the Hindu forces followed them for a distance they suddenly halted and struck on the enemy flanks like a tempest. The enemy war elephants were frightened, harassed and wounded. Fighting continued in the afternoon. In order to forestall any chance of regrouping and counter attack by the enemy Ghori

He never allowed the enemy to snatch initiative and with superior tactics, the prodigious army of his foe was shaken, like a great building, tottered to its fall, and was lost in its own ruins.

The victory was decisive as it crushed the power of the Rajputs and gave the control of northern India, Ajmir, Delhi and many other towns and strong forts.

Ghori appointed Qutub-ud-Din Aibak, his slave as the Viceroy of India who after the death of his master established slave dynasty which was the first Muslim Kingdom and the Muslims ruled India for six more centuries.

Identical historical facts were strong reason for the Two Nation theory brilliantly advocated by Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

During March 1206 on his return journey at a village DHAMYAK, near SOHAWA a few miles from the Grand Trunk Road, Ghori was assassinated by some Gakhar rebels or the assassins (the followers of HASSAN BIN SABAH) when engaged in evening prayers in his royal tent.

His grave, due to confusion created by some historians, remained incognito for centuries. Some years back, after a thorough research, Dr Abdul Qadeer Khan, the father of atom bomb, got constructed a magnificent tomb over the grave of Shahab-ud-Din Mohammad Ghori. ♦

He achieved surprise and by dawn a major portion of his army managed to cross the river. Soon the entire army was deployed in battle array. He had divided his army in 4 divisions and kept the chosen 12,000 horsemen under his personal command. According to the plan Ghori's forces without delay charged the enemy forces which were not yet ready because of the surprise achieved by Ghori.

sides remained quiet, but Prithvi's forces kept swelling due to the arrival of contingents from various places of India for participating in the religious war.

For decisive action Ghori decided to cross the river with a bridgehead force at night. He achieved surprise and by dawn a major portion of his army managed to cross the river. Soon the entire army was deployed in battle array. He had divided his army in 4 divisions and kept the chosen 12,000 horsemen under his personal command. According to the plan Ghori's forces without delay charged the enemy forces which

with his 12,000 horsemen furiously attacked the centre of the enemy. By ASAR prayers the exhausted Hindu forces were completely routed. Prithvi Raj, Khanday Rai and a few dozen rajas were killed whereas many thousand were also slain during fighting. Ghori's forces suffered very few casualties. The captured booty was immense.

Conclusion

Shahab-ud-Din Mohammad Ghori had avenged his defeat.

His plan was bold and daringly executed with speed, determination and surprise.

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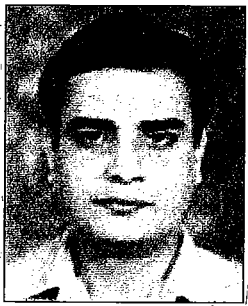
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A Critical Analysis

Indian Elections

Columnist **MEHMOOD-UL-HASSAN KHAN** makes a comprehensive analysis of the Indian elections and its effects on Pakistan.



The Prime Minister of India Atal Bihari Vajpayee has tendered his resignation to the President of India, which

has been accepted. Sonia Gandhi has met with the President of India to form the government at the centre. Earlier, the Congress-led coalition had nominated Sonia Gandhi as their candidate for the next premiership of India. Sonia Gandhi, 57, would become India's next prime minister, following her late husband. But in an interesting move Mrs. Sonia Gandhi decided not to become Prime Minister and indications are that Dr Manmohan Singh (pioneer of economic reformers) could head the new multi-party coalition government. Now Mrs. Sonia Gandhi has decided not to become Prime Minister, Dr Manmohan Singh has taken the oath of Prime Minister. It is estimated that her reluctance to take up the post is on account of her "deep hurt" caused by the Sangh Parivar campaign against her on her foreign origins.

Name of the Party	No. Of Seats	Total
Congress	146	
Allies	71	217
BJP	139	
Allies	48	187
Leftists	62	
Others	73	135
Total		539

Disproving every opinion survey carried out over the past several months, the Indian National Congress-led alliance has stormed to power in India. While the Congress is still short of a simple majority on its own strength, with its allies it is strongly expected to cobble up the number required forming a new government. Some weeks ago Sonia was the Congress' big liability now she has become winning charisma/asset. Many secular Indians were considering voting for the Hindu right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] of Prime

Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, if only because they did not want a "foreigner" to rule the country. But foreigner origin is no more an issue in India.

The Congress victory in the 14th elections has put to rest somewhat some of these fears. Sonia Gandhi led the Congress election campaign. She has led the Congress to a victory that nobody expected. The Congress party has emerged as the single largest party in the recent elections. She has travelled some 42,000 kilometres and even campaigned in parts of the unsettled

upper regions of Assam where militants have been carrying out anti-BJP agitation.

The Congress and its allies are ahead in 222 seats and the BJP-led alliance is leading in 189 constituencies, far short of the 250-272. Other parties, including the Left Front which will support the Congress and which is ahead in over 60 constituencies and smaller but influential parties like the Samajwadi Party and the Bahujan Samaj Party are leading in about 128 seats. Financial markets, which had tumbled on fears that an unstable coalition would be re-elected, reversed early losses as the size of the Congress win became clear. The benchmark Sensex rose 41 points to close at 5,399.

The BJP's "India Shining" and "Feel Good" campaign appeared to have struck a chord, especially with urban India. Vajpayee's personality and stature commanded support across classes, generations, castes, religions and even political affiliations. This winning combination of veteran Vajpayee's leadership and the promise of economic prosperity held out by the "India Shining" slogan were expected to propel the BJP back into power. Initially it was predicted that the prospect of a hung parliament loomed large. But even then, the BJP was expected to form the core of the new government. The only uncertainty was over how many seats it would have and which parties outside its alliance would jump across to support it.

The Assembly Elections in Andhra Pradesh were the greatest setback to BJP-led coalition. The Andhra assembly election saw the Telugu Desam Party, a major BJP ally routed. The Congress victory in the general elections is a huge surprise. It has gained ground across the country. The BJP has done well in states like Rajasthan, Uttaranchal,

Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Punjab. Good news for the BJP in south India has come only from Karnataka. It was looking to this Congress-ruled state to break into southern India, and has done so in this election. Its ally has been routed in Andhra Pradesh and wiped out in Tamil Nadu.

The biggest surprise in the election has come from Gujarat, the western Indian state that was witness to ugly communal riots in February 2002. The BJP was expected to

and strongly rejected the communal policies of the BJP. The Gandhi dynasty dominated Indian politics since independence from British colonial rule in 1947. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister headed the country from independence until his 1964 death. He was followed by his daughter, Indira Gandhi, who was killed by her own bodyguards in 1984. Rajiv, her son and Sonia's husband, took power and ruled until 1989. Two years later, he too was assassinated.

Nobody expected the Congress' fortunes in Gujarat to be revived in the recent 14th general elections. It is salient majority of Muslims and Christians and other lower caste minorities that have taken their revenge from the BJP of its earlier state sponsored/controlled Gujarat's massacre. It is also victory of secularism over communalism. It is also victory of common people over personal dynasties.

sweep the state. After all, it swept to power decimating the Congress in assembly elections in December 2002. While the BJP is the party with the largest number of seats in Gujarat, the Congress is a close second. Nobody expected the Congress' fortunes in Gujarat to be revived in the recent 14th general elections. It is silent majority of Muslims and Christians and other lower caste minorities that have taken their revenge from the BJP of its earlier state sponsored/controlled Gujarat's massacre. It is also victory of secularism over communalism. It is also victory of common people over personal dynasties.

In the recent elections Mrs. Sonia Gandhi pushed for a secular India

Multidimensional Factors of BJP Defeat in 14th Elections

A) Anti-Incumbency Vote. (AP, Karnataka, Kerala, Punjab, Haryana) Rural Voters have rejected the shining India claims of BJP, Congress and IT Craze of Chandrababu Naidu.

The result of the Indian elections has proved that slogans are not enough to win votes. The BJP told the electorate that India was shining, economy was booming with a growth rate of 8 percent, foreign exchange reserves had reached \$140 billion and there was peace with Pakistan. The Indian voter has dealt a humiliating defeat to the incumbent government of Atal Behari

Vajpayee. To be certain, India was shining but only for the one-third of its population. The rest 700-800 million were not touched by the shine. To them India was only shining on the rich. The rest of the population felt neglected and they have avenged the gross neglect of their needs by uprooting the BJP and its allies.

The past five years might have seen some of India's cities shining, but ultimately that was not enough to bring in the required votes. The Indian farmer, who has suffered under BJP rule, has signalled his discontent through the ballot box. Eighty percent of India lives in villages, and the farmer has signalled that his interests and needs to be protected too. The results indicate that rural India cannot be taken for granted. The angry rural voter has asserted himself not only against the BJP but against the Congress too. The poor performance of the Congress in the southern state of Karnataka testifies to that. Prosperity was limited to Bangalore, the capital of Karnataka and India's "Silicon City", while much of rural Karnataka reeled under severe drought for four continuous years.

The defeat of India's IT czars the chief ministers of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka in assembly elections stands testimony to the power of the rural voter. Chandrababu Naidu was feted in the business dailies and praised by corporate India for his IT miracle in Andhra. But the voters in rural Andhra felt he had not done enough to prevent the suicide of small farmers, and threw him out of government for this. The Congress government in Karnataka has faced a similar fate.

On the whole, India's less privileged the rural masses and the urban poor appeared to have found the BJP's "India Shining" campaign unacceptable and offensive. There is no doubt that the Indian economy has done very well of late, but the primary beneficiaries have been the rich and

Andhra Pradesh State (Total Seats 294)		
Name of the Alliances	Year-1999	Year-2004
TDP-BJP	192	49
Cong-TRS-Left	91	226
Others	11	19

Karnataka: Total Seats 224		
Name of the Alliances	Year-1999	Year-2004
Congress	132	65
BJP	44	79
JD (S)	10	58
JD(U)	18	5
Others	20	17

Name of the Party	Name of the Region	Result
Rashtriya Janata Dal, RJD	Bihar	Victory for Congress-Led Coalition
Dravida Munetra Kazhagam, DMK & Others	Tamil Nadu	Victory for Congress-Led Coalition
Nationalist Congress Party NCP	Maharashtra	Victory for Congress-Led Coalition

the urban middle class. The less privileged outnumber the middle classes by a big margin. The BJP-led coalition's defeat showed the government had followed "anti-people economics" with its programme of reforms.

B) Superior Art of Alliances, Seats Adjustment and Power Sharing Formulas of Congress

Another factor that contributed to the Congress wresting power from the BJP is the pre-poll alliances it entered into. A late convert to coalition politics, the Congress appears to have mastered the skill of putting seat-sharing arrangements together.

An over-confident BJP at one stage it seemed confident of win-

ning a majority without allies neglected and even dumped some of its old allies. In alliance formation, it appears to have not read the writing on the wall. Although the Congress and its allies are short of a simple majority, with Left support they will easily reach the magic number. She has proved that like other Indian politicians she can cobble together alliances and shake hands with former enemies.

C) Communal Riots of Gujarat and other places have sunk the titanic of BJP-Led Coalition

The secular philosophies of the Congress have rooted out the com-

munal policies of the BJP. The massacre of Gujarat has brought bad name to the government of BJP and now has become one of the key factors of its drastic defeat in Gujarat. The split verdict in the BJP stronghold of Gujarat, which was rocked by one of the worst bouts of communal rioting since Independence, is also significant. The BJP's setback in Gujarat is one of the redeeming features of this election. It is a clear rejection of communal politics. The average, pragmatic middle class Gujarati does not want a perpetual civil war in the state. People of India have clearly given their verdict that now there is no place of temple or mosque in the politics of India.

The Indian voter found Gujarat chief minister Narendra Modi's persistently offensive campaign against Sonia distasteful. Besides, the voter has indicated that he has more important issues to worry about than the place of birth of his country's prime minister. The issues of Ayodhya, UCC and the last not the least article 370 are other broad issues, which have contributed downfall of NDA in the recent elections. The BJP thought peace with Pakistan would take care of the shame of Gujarat. Not so, said the Muslims in India. The party apparatchiks thought Atalji's skilful politicking would wash Narendra Modi and his bloody legacy away. Not so, said the Muslims.

D) Fail to Deliver Its Promises

The BJP being unable to fulfil its election promises, particularly its less savoury ones of building the Ram temple on the disputed site of the Babri Masjid or banning cow slaughter. This was especially important to the Hindu communalists who formed the BJP's vote bank.

E) Issue of Illegal Immigrants of Bangladesh

There are millions of illegal immigrants of Bangladesh settling in

the different States of India. Many states of India are facing many multidimensional problems from the continued inflows of illegal immigrants of Bangladeshis. The BJP failed to resolve that issue which is one of the key factors in some states.

F) Rise of Hindutva

Another factor working against the BJP was its affirmed vow to Hindutva, which translated into a policy of saffronization of every sector of national life. This alienated the non-Hindu minorities, especially the Muslims, who constitute a substantial vote bank in India.

election. Sonia Gandhi's real battles might only have just begun.

- Continued cordial bilateral relationships with Pakistan, scope of free trade with all the neighbouring countries of the region.
- Good and sustainable relationships with USA.
- Functional coalition to give stable government at the centre and in many states.
- Reduce the intensity of horrible wounds of communalism etc, etc.

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Multidimensional Challenges for the Congress

- Keep balance between the interests of corporate India and to the demands of its allies in the Left for labour reforms.
- Swift solution to looming poverty, unemployment, poor schooling, housings and merge facilities of health in the rural areas of India. The Congress will also have to respond positively to the unambiguous signals that rural India has sent out in this

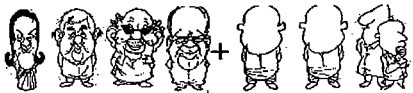
● The Sonia government will be under greater pressure to keep some distance from the US and Israel, although the Congress would like to take advantage of the strategic partnership the Vajpayee government built with Washington.

● The Congress-led government in India will turn back to its pro-Palestine position while opposing the ongoing Iraq war. The Secular Progressive Alliance will be consistent than the BJP on keeping the peace process on track with Pakistan. With Laloo

Prasad, Mullayam Singh Yadav and DMK, on the one hand, and the Left Front, on the other, the Sonia government will be more enthusiastic towards the normalisation process.

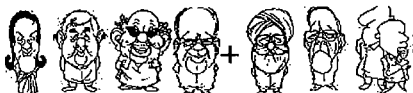
Different Options of the Formation of Government at the Centre and in different States for Congress-Led Coalition

Option 1



The Congress alliance can form a government on its own with help from smaller parties. This is one scenario Congressmen are fantasizing about but I think that Congress will have to rely on different smaller regional parties to form a stable government. In this regard, Samajwadi Party leader Mulayam Singh Yadav has shown some sympathies for Congress-led coalition at the centre. The Bahujan Samaj Party is also supporter to Congress-led front at the Centre even if it has the Samajwadi Party as one of the constituents.

Option 2



The Congress may shake hands with the Left parties to gain clear-cut majority to form government at the centre. But there are some severe reservations of Left parties on the issue of disinvestments and privatisation policies.

Option 3

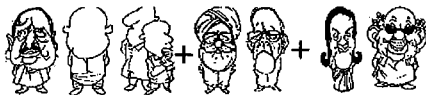


The Congress alliance could get the depressed members of NDA and

may get magic numbers of forming government at the centre through a strong combination of regional allies with outside support of the Left, Mulayam or Mayawati. There are strong traditions of outside support in the political history of India and the Congress-led coalition will be benefited with it.

THE REGIONAL PARTIES FORMULA

Option 1



Congress may agree to support from outside a grouping of non-NDA MPs and regional parties, in addition to the Left to form a stable government at the centre.

It is a nightmare for the BJP and a wild dream come true for the

to what the various opinion surveys and analysts had everyone believe till the morning of counting. It is victory of Shining Democracy rather than success of Shining India.

Party's Position in 14th Indian Elections (2004)

a) Alliances: NDA:

BJP, TDP, BJD, AIADMK, SAP, JD(U), AITC, SHS, SAD, NCP in North East, AC, MSCP.

b) Alliances Congress-Led Coalition:

Congress +: INC, RJD, NCP, Muslim League in Kerala, DMK, PMK, MDMK, PDP, RPI, KEC(M)

c) Others:

AIMIM, Akali Dal (Mann), BBM, BSP, CPI, CPM, CPI(ML)(L), FB, INLD, JD(S), JKN, PWP, RLD, RSP, SP, SJP(R), IND

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Congress as the latter emerges the single largest party and with its pre-poll alliance partners plus the Left Front. The collective wisdom of Indian voters once again manifests the maturing, strengthening and, indeed, a ringing triumph of democracy. More than anything else, it is humbling to be confronted with the verdict delivered compared

NDA RULED STATES (2004)

Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Rajasthan.

NON-NDA RULED STATES (2004)

Delhi, Haryana, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Karnataka.

Sr. No.	Name of the Party	No. of Seats
1	ABLTC	-
2	AIADMK	1
3	AIMIM	-
4	AITC	-
5	BBM	-
6	BJD	4
7	NDA (BJP-Led Coalition)	188
8	BSP	11
9	CPI	7
10	CPIMLL	-
11	CPM	21
12	DMK	13
13	FBL	1
14	HVC	-
15	INC (Congress-Led Coalition)	219
16	Independents	3
17	INLD	-
18	JDS	-
19	JDU	4
20	JKNC	1
21	KEC	1
22	KECM	-
23	MKDMK	-
24	MDMK	4
25	MSCP	-
26	MUL	-
27	NCP	8
28	PMK	4
29	PWMI	-
30	RJD	9
31	RLD	2
32	RSP	-
33	SAD	6
34	SADM	-
35	SDF	1
36	SJPR	-
37	SP	21
38	TDP	5
39	PDP	2
40	RPA	1
41	IFDP	1
42	UNS	1
43	AJP	1

As many as 25 ministers of the Vajpayee government, including such heavyweights as Murli Manohar Joshi, Ram Naik and I.D. Swami and the speaker Manohar Joshi, have been defeated. Likewise, the voters have gone in for change by refusing to elect Shivraj Patil and P.M. Sayeed, from Latur and Lakshadweep respectively, from where they had been elected consecutively for the last seven successive terms.

According to RSS and VHP that BJP's moderate-line on Muslims, Pakistan and the Kashmiri terrorists are responsible for the party's stunning defeat. They have also claimed that denial or betrayal of the "Hindu interests" is also one of the key factors for NDA defeat in the recent elections.

As many as 25 ministers of the Vajpayee government, including such heavyweights as Murli Manohar Joshi, Ram Naik and I.D. Swami and the speaker Manohar Joshi, have been defeated. Likewise, the voters have gone in for change by refusing to elect Shivraj Patil and P.M. Sayeed, from Latur and Lakshadweep respectively, from where they had been elected consecutively for the last seven successive terms.

Change of Government in India and Its Implications for Pakistan and USA

It is the first time in the electoral history of India that Pakistan did not figure in the elections negatively. None of the party or leader criticised Mr Vajpayee's hand of friendship that he extended towards Pakistan. In fact, Congress welcomed it. Congress leaders have assured that peace process will continue

and talks on Kashmir would be held in due course of time.

No political analyst in the country could predict any change in the 14th elections of India. Now policy makers in Islamabad are busy to make alternative strategies to establish cordial bilateral relationships with India after the defeat of the BJP. Hindrance may occur in the near future between Pakistan and India. The election results will be a matter of concern for Pakistan as much was being put in store by a victorious Vajpayee taking the peace and normalisation process to its fruition:

- Slow development in the ongoing process of normalisation
- Fears of uneasiness may prevail between the two countries

● Our national policy towards Kashmir, free trade and normalisation may change

● President may not dress-off his uniform, (which he should not) in the changing geo-strategic trends and uncertain political scenarios in the country

● The United States of America is very upset and will be worried for a while at the regime change in New Delhi not merely because of the obvious lessons it contains for the Bush crowd but because of

what it means for the geo-politics of the region. USA is also very worried from the change in India and now will be looking towards Pakistan for more assistance to fight against terrorism. Americans wonder if the Congress foreign policy gurus will adopt a more strident stance on Iraq and Israel and go further in befriending Iran. The Indian markets are jittery and it could be some time before stability returns. There will be not much business transacted this year between the USA and India.

Conclusion

It is common man's revenge against the policies of communalism, arrogance and coercion of the BJP. It is victory of ballot over bullet. It is victory of people. There are many lessons, which the rulers of Pakistan can learn from the outcome of the 14th Indian elections. Common people want necessities of life at his doorstep not oratory. They want peace, religious harmony and brotherhood and reject the politics of divide and rule. Although stock markets of India have been crushed but it is hoped that downturn trend will be recovered after the establishment of government at the centre. ♦

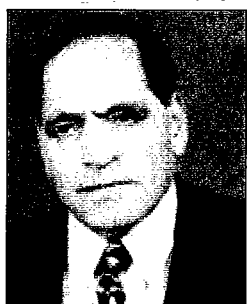
ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Mehmood-Ul-Hassan Khan holds an MPA from the University of the Punjab, Lahore. He is currently Research Scholar in National Bank of Pakistan. Did various courses relating to banking. Contributed articles on Banking, Economics, Geo-Strategic Issues, Comparative International Political Diplomacy in various local and foreign newspapers, journals and departments like MMN USA, Journal of World Affairs and New Technology, USA, and AIDS AND BEHAVIOUR USA.

The ugly side of Indo-Pak vendetta, which has taken a heavy toll from both the countries and is responsible for the entire malaise afflicting the people of the subcontinent, existed in the perceptions of successive leaderships of both the countries since long and has not surfaced overnight. Despite this perception the leaderships pursued the policy of confrontation only to keep the respective electorates in good humour, due to a parallel but flawed perception that the people of their respective countries desired so.

Indo-Pak Peace Process

Columnist A RASHID discusses the prospects of Indo-Pak peace process.



Even as a part of mud-slinging, which is part of election campaigns in the Third World countries, the Congress

leadership, at no stage of electioneering, voiced against the peace process, with Pakistan, initiated by the BJP leadership. The Congress leadership, after their astounding victory at the hustings, also lost no time and hurried to straighten the record by unequivocally affirming to pursue the peace process in earnest. Still more significant is the reticence on the subject, which means a tacit approval by the numerous leaders forming part of the grand coal-

tion with the Congress. This amazing consensus of the political conglomerate of the largest democracy of the world betrays the future course of events with regard to the Indo-Pak rapprochement.

Another marvelling dynamic of the affair is that the peace process gets under way immediately after the confrontation had reached its apex over a year ago, when the armed forces of both the countries were arrayed on the respective borders in an eyeball to eyeball confrontation and the balloon was expected to go up any time soon.

The confrontation was heightened by India as the hawkish lobby of their leadership had prevailed and the intelligence reports confirmed that an oiled up Indian war machine was poised to mean business this time. The question as to who blinked first is irrelevant

because, obviously, it was the Indian leadership's bid to implement their great design of sorting out Pakistan once for all, to which the world community is a witness, while Pakistan was only on the receiving end. How the intense confrontation abruptly transformed into peace process, merits analysis.

The ugly side of Indo-Pak vendetta, which has taken a heavy toll from both the countries and is responsible for the entire malaise afflicting the people of the subcontinent, existed in the perceptions of successive leaderships of both the countries since long and has not surfaced overnight. Despite this perception the leaderships pursued the policy of confrontation only to keep the respective electorates in good humour, due to a parallel but flawed perception that the people of their respective countries desired so. There may be more than one factor to bring about this miracle but the most significant is the international intervention, with a particular reference to the leadership of

the United States of America. One could give credit to the international intervention for disengagement of forces and initiation of the peace process but the gathering of momentum by the peace process owes to another most important dynamic, that is, people to people contact. Both the countries reluctantly agreed to embark on the quest for a road map to rapprochement due to diplomatic constraints, meaning only to be playing for the gallery. The first of the confidence building measures was therefore initiated halfheartedly in the form of people to people contacts. But once the ball was set rolling the process acquired its own dynamics. It generated its own momentum and unambiguously demonstrated to the leaderships of both the countries, during its first culmination, that is, the Indo-Pak cricket series, that the people of India and Pakistan want to live in peace and amity and instead of fighting each other, want to fight their common enemies, that is, hunger, disease and ignorance. The discipline, magnanimity and mutual respect displayed by the Pakistani as well as the Indian spectators, during the cricket series, was an eye opener for any observer. Despite the hyper activity of the terrorist elements during the period, elsewhere in Pakistan, the cricket series went so smooth in all the big cities of Pakistan. The message of amity and goodwill, by both the peoples, resounded loud and clear in the world.

When a phenomenon reaches its apex it has to ratchet down its trajectory. Indo-Pak vendetta, likewise, *inter alia*, owes its recession partially to this principle as well. More than that the changed equation of inter state relations evolved after the end of the cold war has also materially altered the condi-

tions of war and peace in the Third World countries as well as in the world at large. When this realization was brought home to India and Pakistan that they cannot have recourse to violence to settle their scores, as it does not suit the powers calling shots at global scene, it became natural for these countries to explore peaceful means to that end. Coincidentally, the process of globalization has also accelerated since the end of the cold war, which has also correspondingly increased the interdependence of states, particularly in economic matters. This international equation inhibits independent decision making about serious matters like war and peace. The swift transformation of India from Nehruvian (state controlled socialist economy) to a market economy completely eroded India's non-aligned status and brought her in alliance with the west, having particularly high financial stakes in the US.

As far as BJP's collapse in the elections is concerned, it had nothing to do with the peace process. Many international political analysts have rightly concluded that BJP's slogan, "shining India" has mainly been responsible for that. BJP's breathless propaganda of India's mounting foreign exchange reserves, exponentially expanding IT industry and a very high growth rate that broadened and benefited the urban middle class, generated a reaction in the rural India, the majority, that voted them out. The quality of life of the rural classes of India remained unchanged and the much ado of dollars influx further accentuated the frustration of these classes.

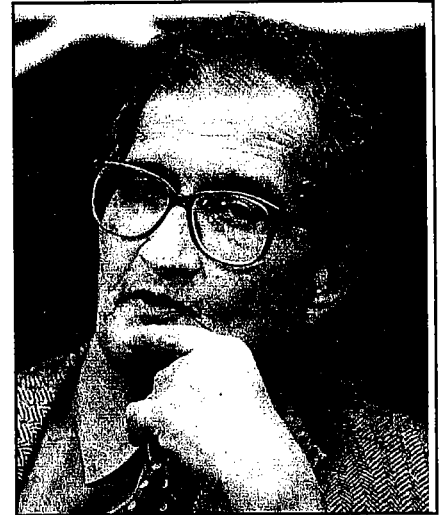
The prospects of Indo-Pak peace process therefore remain bright as ever. Nothing will change with the political change in India except the modalities here and there. The main question, "what about Kashmir?" is

still staring us as before? No political leadership in India is capable of offering meaningful concessions to Pakistan regarding Kashmir. The peace process had been initiated perhaps with the tacit understanding on both sides that both the countries will engage essentially in confidence building measures for quite some time to come, by leaving the Kashmir question on the back burner for the time being, to let it acquire its own dynamics with the passage of time, which would enable both the leaderships to finally address this so-called core issue at an appropriate future date. The hawks on both sides, which have been responsible for this stalemate of over half a century, will call it a bad prospect. The pragmatic minds will call it good. After all what is the harm in trying the peaceful means after a blood feud, violence, hatred and confrontation, spread over generations, which left the people of the subcontinent poorer and weaker after each phase? A free interaction of the people of Kashmir, on both sides of the Line of Control, if allowed for a reasonable period of time, will amount to half the solution of the problem and the other half will naturally evolve itself.

The implementation of this very prospect is possible in the existing political arrangement in Pakistan due to the obvious reason that the fountain-head of political power is a man in uniform who is perhaps least amenable to different schools of political thought. It is a lifetime chance to him and he seems to be determined to avail it in earnest. At this stage the prospect might appear unsound and impracticable but if the momentum gathered by the confidence building measures including people to people contact is not impeded, the prospect is sure to be holding a promise of better tomorrow for the one fifth of humanity involved in the equation. ♦

Where are the micro benefits?

Columnist **Dr S M RAHMAN** wants to know where is the "trickle" of the "trickle-down economics" promised to the masses.



Indian Nobel laureate Amritiya Sen

"The Muslim League is determined to win freedom but it will be a freedom not only for the strong and dominant but also for the weak and suppressed."



This was the vision that the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah expressed quite unequiv-

ocally on February 05, 1938, while addressing the Muslim University, Aligarh. This vision has yet to be translated into reality. No matter, what economic policies were formulated, the benefits hardly accrued to the masses, whose great chunk is still languishing in poverty. The macro-economic profile, which the financial managers of the country are projecting, is indeed quite glittering. But as they say all that glitters is not gold. Some of the indicators are quite promising and even impressive. There is no denying the fact that Pakistan's economy was awfully mis-managed and was almost on the brink of abyss of total collapse. Thank God, it has been salvaged and has registered a growth rate of 5.1 percent, a little higher than

expected and perhaps higher than many countries in our vicinity. The other indices are also very impressive particularly the foreign exchange reserves, which have crossed \$ 12 billion mark, which by no means is an ordinary achievement. The inflation rate as per official figure is 3.3 percent. Export has risen and budget deficit has been curtailed. Foreign remittances have also gone high. These are 'glittering' generalities.

In propaganda parlance there is a card-stacking technique – only the favourable cards are exposed, and the negative ones are concealed, which present a rather gloomy picture, particularly when one takes stock of economy at micro level. Similar hopes were built in India as well, which was projected as fast emerging Asian Tiger and the fact that its software export had increased from \$ 128 million in 1991 to \$ 62 billion in 2001, adding 5.1 million mobile phone subscribers every month and creating one million job opportunities every year and so on. **"India Shining Image"** was so much overblown through

media that the entire credibility went for a six when the masses found that the so-called IT revolution did not deliver clean water, sanitation, education and health-care to the poor. It was indeed a great irony that 80 percent of India's one billion people still live in the "bullock cart economy". The masses reacted by ousting the BJP Government and to the great surprise of all political pundits and analysts: Sonia Gandhi's Party received the verdict of the people. This, in a way, is the power of the underprivileged and deprived people provided democracy is the internalized value of the nation. Undoubtedly India has achieved this enviable distinction and we must acknowledge it and let not prejudice impair our vision.

It would be prudent to draw a lesson from the electoral catastrophe that India witnessed. Our microeconomic profile is indeed as horrible as it is of India. The level of poverty in Pakistan has risen to 33 percent in 2003 from 20 percent in last 15 years. This figure is by government's own State Bank of Pakistan. The so-called trickled down economy did trickle but in the

wrong pockets. It is a matter of great concern for our economic designers. It would be pertinent to mention that the father of the nation Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was committed to the people's government and "not to gratify the political aspirations of a few individuals but improve the social educational and economic condition of the proletariat". He had constituted a committee to carve out an economic policy to provide maximum benefits to the poor and

Is this civilization? Is this the aim of Pakistan? Do you visualize that millions have been exploited and cannot get one meal a day? If that is the idea of Pakistan, I would not have it"

Some notable economists of late have come out with a commendable concept of the ethics of development. The prominent among them are: L. J. Lebert, Denis Goulet and Indian Nobel laureate Amritiya Sen. The first and the foremost overriding concern is the reduction and even removing the

The so-called trickled down economy did trickle but in the wrong pockets. It is a matter of great concern for our economic designers. It would be pertinent to mention that the father of the nation Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was committed to the people's government and "not to gratify the political aspirations of a few individuals but improve the social educational and economic condition of the proletariat".

deprived people of the society. Very candidly he spelt out his vision:

"I should like to give a warning to the landlords and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system which is so vicious, which is so wicked and makes them so selfish, that it is difficult to reason with them. The exploitation of the masses has gone into their blood. They have forgotten the lesson of Islam. Greed and selfishness have made these people subordinate the interests of others in order to fatten themselves. It is true we are not in power today. You go anywhere to countryside. I visited some villages. There are millions and millions of our people who hardly get one meal a day.

extreme poverty. The issue is essentially ethical in nature. Therefore, the development ethics views the societal development in the perspective of desirable change with a humanistic approach, with transcends "economism", which has created a myopic vision very often propounded by the so-called development economists. Equity which is generally ignored as a superfluous subjective concept needs to be integrated into the concept of development. James Gustave Speth, Administrator United Nations Development Programme very rightly observed: "Equity combines the ideas of justice and of equal opportunity, of people coming out of poverty to share in the world's bounty, of securing employment and of becoming integral members of society.

Equity speaks of enfranchisement, empowerment, inclusion... equitable social development is a necessary foundation for sustainable development and economic prosperity."

"Humanitarianism" as pointed out by Prince El Hassan bin Talal "should no longer be seen as "dogoodism" or as a "charity business" adopted as a solution to the problem of surplus commodities. Rather, it should be viewed as a manifestation of "enlightened self-interest". He further says: "whatever detracts from human well-being must be questioned, regardless of its effects on economic growth, political power or the stability of a certain order". It is a wake up call for our economists, to get out of their cocoon and shun the esoteric language they have created to camouflage the injustices being perpetuated in the name of economic growth. "The most difficult thing" in life says Prince Talal: "Is to understand the obvious. The obvious truism which we need to understand and elaborate upon today is the need for a holistic approach to development". Mathew Arnold spelt out what inequality does. "Our inequality", he said, "materializes upper class, vulgarizes our middle class and brutalizes our lower class". ♦

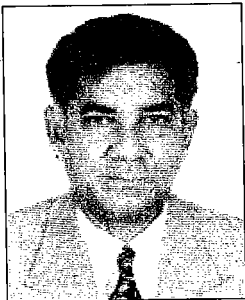
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Dr Syed Matiur Rahman obtained his Ph.D Degree in Psychology from Duke University, USA. He went to USA as Fulbright Scholar and served as Head of Department of Psychology in Rajshahi University and Professor and Chairman Psychology Department, Government College, Lahore. He worked as Advisor in General Headquarters, Rawalpindi. Presently he is Secretary General, Foundation for Research on International Environment, National Development and Security (FRIENDS).



Dhaka-Delhi relations

Columnist **M SAKHAWAT HUSSAIN** does a fresh reap-praisal of Dhaka-Delhi relations.



The oldest political party that led India to freedom, Indian Congress now led by Italian borne Rajiv Gandhi's widow, cata-

pulted into the power in an unbelievable election result that out seated a coalition of communal ultra Hindu force led by BJP i.e. NDA (National Democratic Alliance). Indian Congress, the party that symbolises the secular India is back in power allied with other prominent secular regional and the left front known to be

Indian communist parties. The stunning result of 14th Lok Sabha could not surprise election Pundits more than the incumbent coalition of NDA, a political conglomerate based on religious extremists. Many political analyst attributes NDA's fall to disproportionate developments, ultra religious stance, Gujarat carnage under political tutelage and disregarding the minority sentiment as causes for NDA's demise. Perhaps the biggest damage was done to NDA by letting Gujarat's chief minister Norendra Modi have his own way dealing with the minority and championing Hindutava so nakedly. His hands were bloodied with the blood of innocent Muslims. Many analysts outside India including subcontinent, holds NDA responsible for initiating nuclear arms race and adopted policy of Hindutava as catalyst for rise of religious extremism elsewhere in the sub-continent.

However, the high drama that followed on the selection of next PM was unique in Indian political history. Never the less, the Congress and its pre-election allies, now known as United Progressive Alliance (UPA) formed the government under eminent economist turned politician, Dr. Manmohan Singh, nominated by Congress president Ms. Sonia Gandhi after her melodramatic declaration of not accepting the post on her personal account. The tenor of the current Congress party generates hope that it would inject a freshness in the internal and external dynamics in dealing with internal and external policies. We as Bangladeshis are more concerned with the perceptive shape of external policy that would emerge under the old guard like Mr. Natwar Singh as external affairs minister and Mr.

JN Dixit as National Security Adviser. In particular the endeavour for improving relations with its smaller neighbours including Bangladesh as India's regional approach. However, one must not lose sight that Indian government of any shape highly unlikely to barter national interest for the sake of mending relations.

Congress's recapture of power and support from widely known to be secular parties, seemingly brought the end of ultra religious Hindu ruling class coalition i.e. NDA that ruled for six years with Vajpayee as PM. Leaving aside blow hot blow cold relation with Pakistan, NDA's ambivalent policy towards its smaller neighbours had caused strenuous relationship especially with Bangladesh. Outstanding irritants between two countries multiplied with Delhi's continuous insinuation against Dhaka mostly on perceptive issues. There was a serious border clash between two neighbours, first time ever, on issues those could have been settled with prudence of Delhi but it was not to be. In a sense the relation between two had been in the lowest ebb in thirty three years of Bangladesh's existence as independent country.

There are outstanding issues that need to be resolved with the understanding of each sides sensibility on the subject. Most of these issues are as old as Bangladesh's independence and would not be new to UPA government in place. Among many issues, transit, sheltering and training North East Indian insurgents, illegal immigration and threat of unilateral withdrawal of water from common rivers resulted into a cold relation between Dhaka and Delhi. Whether the new external affairs ministry, led

by veteran diplomat turned politician Mr. Natwar Singh, would initiate a new approach or not is a matter to be seen but if the recent rhetoric of Indian High Commissioner is taken seriously it would suggest that Delhi, under congress would maintain similar pressure as it was in Vajpayee's regime. It already indicates that Congress would follow the old line with Bangladesh. Recent comment on transit issue made by Indian High Commissioner in Dhaka points to that policy. In a recent statement Ms. Beena Sicri, Indian High Commissioner,

'Liberation and Beyond'. This is not only politically sensitive issue but attaches great 'strategic' importance for Bangladesh. A decision on this issue may not come as quickly as Delhi may desire. With all understanding it seems that the present government would pursue this issue prior to settling other irritants. Transit issue is a strategic concern for Bangladesh as it attaches significant perceptive implications. The point is well appreciated at national level therefore, detailed deliberation would be needed to even consider the issue.

Congress's recapture of power and support from widely known to be secular parties, seemingly brought the end of ultra religious Hindu ruling class coalition i.e. NDA that ruled for six years with Vajpayee as PM. Leaving aside blow hot blow cold relation with Pakistan, NDA's ambivalent policy towards its smaller neighbours had caused strenuous relationship especially with Bangladesh.

repeated Indian desire to get the transit facility from Bangladesh. In a meeting held on 27 May 04, at Dhaka Chamber of Commerce she reiterated India's age old desire to get the facility. She said that transit would accelerate pace of economic development of the region. Issue is as old as the independence of Bangladesh. It was one of the strategic consideration which prompted India to physically help Bangladesh gain independence from Pakistani rule. It was clearly stated by noted Indian diplomat now the Indian National Security Adviser Mr. JN Dixit in his book

The other major issue that concerns Bangladesh mostly is River Linking Project that was reinitiated by outgoing BJP government. The unilateral decision of BJP government adopting River Linking Project diverting water from common rivers to Indian interior came as bombshell that NDA could launch to petrify Bangladesh. Rivers are lifeline of this poverty stricken country that needs no emphasis. The River Linking said to have been the dream project that BJP that became an election agenda. Point to note here that this was no new project rather it

was revival of a dormant project that Capt. Dastoor had put forward to the then congress governments few decades back to help resolve water problem during drought and semi-drought season in North West and West India. BJP revived the project that many would suggest for political gain.

However, it was not only Bangladesh that opposed such devastating plan that would jeopardise the very economic existence of Bangladesh but would harm the less developed Eastern States of Assam and part of West Bengal, Bihar of India. These considerations hardly touched then Indian ruling coalition.

It was an interim ruling by Indian Supreme Court on a Public Interest Litigation hearing had directed the government of India to execute the suspended decade old river linking project. The ruling came as blessing for ruling NDA coalition led by hard-line BJP government. The planned project envisages major river linking through number of planned canals to be excavated to draw waters from Ganges and Bramaputra to west and south India to increase water flow of rivers within those regions during lean period. The project also aims in conserving excess water from these rivers in big reservoirs to divert water in much of the drought affected west and south. Most of these rivers that are included as prime source of excessive water for diversion are by all definition regarded to be international rivers shared by two or more countries, especially Ganges and Bramaputra are the main source of water for Bangladesh.

Bangladesh as lower riparian country would remain to be the most affected country if and when such grandiose Indian project is

executed. India did not even consider to officially inform Bangladesh of the project until the last JRC meeting held in New Delhi. After much fuss, then Indian authority identified the issue in joint declaration at the end of the JRC meeting. Indian authority of that time claimed that the project is still at feasibility study stage but the reports indicate otherwise. It is reported that Delhi has already rehashed the old plan and constructed six (6) canals in the south as part of feasibility study.

As reported NDA government

had appointed former Union Power Minister Suresh Prabhu as head of the task forces that would workout detailed plans and evolve a national consensus. One does not know whether the project has taken national centre stage or not yet it has created enthusiasm all around heartland of India. No doubt that the project, if and when executed could mitigate long standing water shortage of North West Indian farmers boosting Indian agricultural output and boost rural economy of Indian heartland. Congress government

The proposed river linking aims to transfer excessive water from eastern states to the west and central India by creating artificial reservoirs. These reservoirs then would store water during high monsoon in the east and supply to drought affected western and parts of central India. The project envisages linkage of major rivers. The main linkage would be Ganga to be joined with Kaveri.

advanced the project for funding and experimental excavation of few link canals. The proposed river linking aims to transfer excessive water from eastern states to the west and central India by creating artificial reservoirs. These reservoirs then would store water during high monsoon in the east and supply to drought affected western and parts of central India. The project envisages linkage of major rivers. The main linkage would be Ganga to be joined with Kaveri. Task to be completed by year 2016 or within fifteen years once the initial work is taken at hand. BJP government

has vowed to take economic reform to suit rural development that alleged to have been largely ignored by NDA government.

The enthusiasts of the project tells the worried states including Dhaka that India's this ambitious project in fact would rather resolve the occurrence of yearly flood that devastates the economy brings damages to life and property. So far Delhi is concern it does not see why Bangladesh should be worried. But many experts opine otherwise. These experts opine that the main source i.e. Bramaputra river discharges 30,000 cu per second

in high monsoon and the project would need diversion of 1500 cu per second that however do not solve the flooding problem that is almost yearly occurrence. Point to be noted that both Bramaputra and Ganges are life line for Bangladeshi river system. Any diversion particularly at lean period would prove to be catastrophic for ecology and economy of Bangladesh. According to the proponents of the project says that even after storage major rivers especially Ganga would have enough water both on high monsoon and in dry season that would sufficiently meet Bangladesh's requirement. Whole project is envisaged to be a network of 30 canals, 10,000 km long, involving the construction of 9 large and 24 small dams to be completed in even half a century.

Interlinking project that India is coming up with would prove to be preposterous for Bangladesh. Assuming that Delhi is not prevented by north-eastern states and required funds are made available what would then be the consequences for Bangladesh who's all but one river either originates or flows through India. We are already facing the experience the adverse effect of Ganges water treaty that was signed in 1996 to settle the Farakka Barrage issue. Bangladesh is yet to get even agreed volume of water during lean period and that increases the salinity in Southern Bangladesh at that given period.

Now that Indian Congress, the party that was associated with the liberation of Bangladesh, would be in power, we expect more rational approach to the issue that calls for multinational consultation if at all the project India must pursue at the cost of humane suffering both within and

outside India. However, it seems to be highly unlikely that Congress would pursue such perceptive ecologically disastrous project at the cost of its allies like Laloo Prasad of Bihar, and others in Eastern States who had already opposed such grandiose BJP plan yet one is not sure unless the project is not scrapped all together. Nevertheless one must not lose the sight that there is a legal binding on the government to execute the project in public interest, would Congress make an effort to vacate the judgment remains to be seen.

However, we do expect the more secular coalition government led by Congress would change the foreign policy direction that alienated Dhaka from Delhi. We welcome a secular government in form of Congress in Delhi and hope that all issues pending with neighbours would see the resolution through dialogue replacing arm twisting policy of last government. We hope that the new Indian government would take into account the sensibility that Bangladesh may have on issues those are directly related to our national security.

It is indeed noted with satisfaction that Delhi's new rulers have indicated their willingness to ease relations with neighbours, particularly with Bangladesh. The warmth that has been shown during the recent visit of the Bangladeshi foreign minister to Delhi indicates a fresh beginning inspite of occasional rhetoric. Meanwhile, Delhi also indicated that it would postponed the much talked about interlinking project yet at the same time there are voices within proximity of Delhi's policy making community who thinks a multilateral approach can be initiated for better water

management of Bramaputra river. However, current Indian official stand on the much hyped River Linking Project would be clear in next JRC (Joint River Commission) meeting between Dhaka-Delhi in next month.

Be it as it may, it seems that out of all contentious issues that Dhaka and Delhi needs to resolve, water sharing is going to be the most complex out of all. If Indian government of present and future do not take a pragmatic approach for multi-lateral resolution of the subject it would remain to be the most thorny issue in establishing a lasting good neighbourly relation between two countries. However, we are hopeful that meaningful dialogue between neighbours of South Asia would pave way the path for peaceful resolution of outstanding issues however thorny those may be. It is encouraging to note that UPA government has indicated to carry forward the current peace process between two nuclear rivals, India and Pakistan. We hope that with spirit Delhi would take extra step to ease relations with other South Asian neighbours including Bangladesh. ♦

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

M Sakhawat Hussain, born in Barisal (Bangladesh) in 1948, graduated from Islamia College Karachi in 1965 and also got his Masters in Strategic Studies from Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad, in 1989. Commissioned in the Pakistan Army in 1966, he went on to serve in the Bangladesh Army, graduated from the United States Command and General Staff College in 1982, retiring as a Brigadier-General. Author of 4 books in the Bengali language and over 100 articles, he is a regular contributor to Bangladeshi newspapers.

The 1971 Indo-Pak War

A Soldier's Narrative

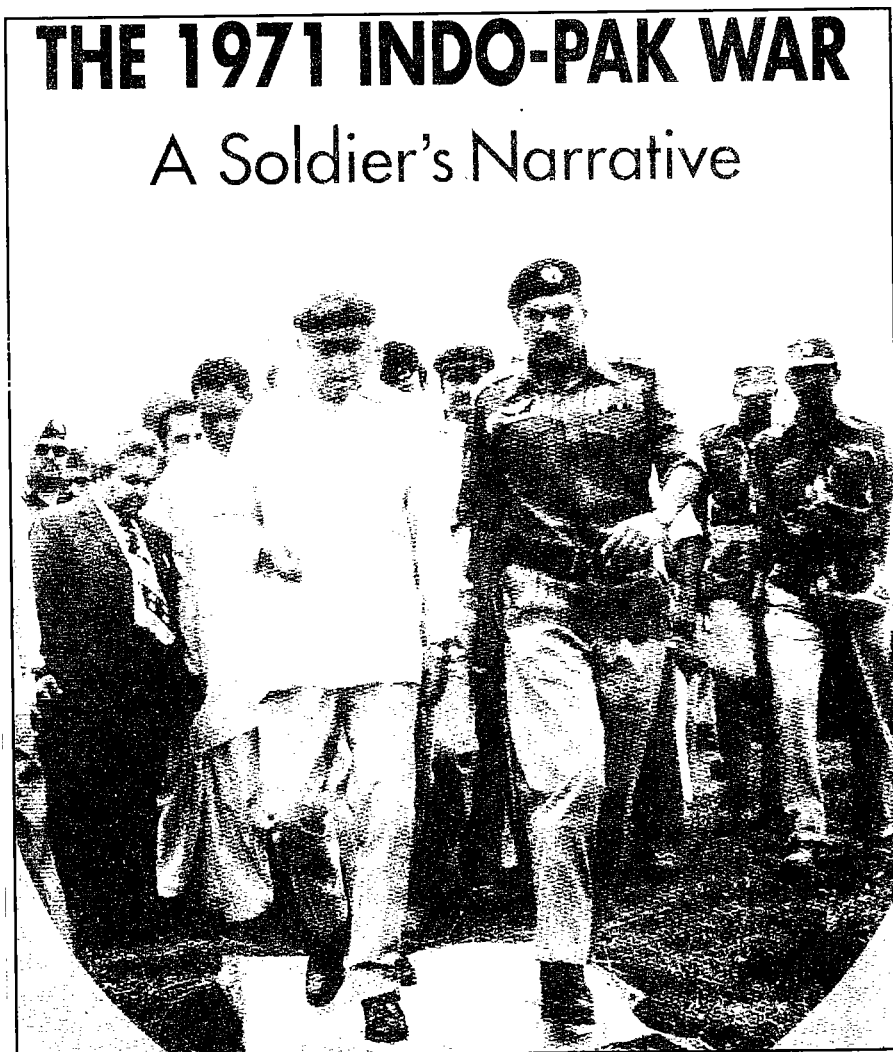
Chairman Pathfinder Group Col (Retd) **NASRAT ULLAH** reviews the book written by Lt Col (later Maj Gen) **HAKIM ARSHAD QURESHI**.

"We had not felt the heat of the molten lava bubbling beneath the surface, had been unable to discern the extent to which the virus of provincialism, parochialism and ethnicity had permeated society. We had failed to detect any signs of the unending insurgency which was to play havoc with the Two Nation Theory and challenge the very existence of Pakistan".

AUTHOR

Gen Arshad after undergoing personal pathos and professional setback, had the moral courage to see things in the correct perspective and write about it, honestly and as a professional soldier writing about it without chewing the truth. As a soldier he accepted what should be his share – hoping and praying that committees, individuals and policy makers will not only share the follies but take preventive measures for its recurrence in our fertile cultural fields now left of Pakistan.

The Author has described the political changes and suggestions step, by step in which a chemist will do in his laboratory to come to a conclusion. Unfortunately, the political plans put forward to the nation were



not honest, each blaming the others.

Role given to the Armed Forces were too big and unattainable considering the resources given to achieve. The Author has rightly blamed India for interference in the affairs of Pakistan but Pakistanis of various cultural shade have to do something more tangible and constructive.

Rigidity by Pak policy formulators and encouragement by India militarily and constant pressure on Pakistan in every field made things easy for breakup. Pak Planners being generally Army officers stressed more on military success, the political reconciliation not being the prime aim.

Military action that was launched turned out to be a fiasco and germinated plethora of problems – both political and military. Any organised body like armed forces, if it takes recourse to genocide and mass rapes, behaving like Changez Khan's marauders is bound to have negative effects on the general population.

The general impression given by W. Pakistani who served there are of the opinion that a general order was given for disarming of Bengali personnel and units/sub-units. The Author has categorically stated that "No definite orders to disarm EPR or EBR were given. It was left to the discretion of the local formation commanders to decide the issue according to the perceived loyalties of the Bengali troops under their command." Such instructions were ill-meaning – to suit individuals. To be frank, to start with ill-intentioned and dishonest – it was to cover the commanders from general reaction from general public and media.

The orders pertaining to commanders regarding 'Bara Khana' where personnel weapons were to be deposited before 'Bara Khana'

was one of the most ill-thought of order – Bengali troops could sense the negative after effects. The (Bengali) troops refused and they were right in doing so.

Policy makers were living in their distorted 'dreams' – they were working on Bengali attitude and reactions 10/15 years back, times had changed, therefore, their reactions to such orders should have been thought of.

Wounds (physical and mental) inflicted on Bengali general masses, both on male and female cannot be washed off with 'apology', it is too early to venture on such gimmicks. The Author rightly

enemy is more difficult than breaking off with a friend". This equally applies to Pakistan and Bangladesh. Let unmarked graves, both of Pakistani 'Shaheeds' and Bangladesh 'Shaheeds' flower as nothing more positive can be done to the grave mistakes enacted by both defaulting sides. Let Pakistan and Bangladesh distinguish between soldiers and heroes and give them their rightful places.

Simmering hatred before 1971 between Bengali and non-Bengali in the Armed Forces was clear. Comments from West Pakistanis about the culture of Bengali was pronounced – it included their lan-

There are good people in Bangladesh in abundance, equally matched in Pakistan. We should not propagate unison with Bangladesh as it will not be pragmatic. We should in every way help and promote friendship with Bangladesh without creating doubts in India because it will be counter-productive. We should remember the lessons that germinated evil and doubts since 1947.

questions 'apology' as not that simple in practical terms, awards given to people for perpetuating that abhorring non-military acts has to be viewed once again – immoral acts enacted by the Army cannot and should not be legalised – honours and awards given has to be viewed and if need be they should be declared null and void, of course it will have adverse effect on the morale of Pak Armed Forces who were instrumental in enacting them.

The Author, in his mature thinking spells out that, "making up with an

guage, culinary habits and even practice of Islam. They took up a stance which further separated a Bengali from West Pakistani.

There are good people in Bangladesh in abundance, equally matched in Pakistan. We should not propagate unison with Bangladesh as it will not be pragmatic. We should in every way help and promote friendship with Bangladesh without creating doubts in India because it will be counter-productive. We should remember the lessons that germinated evil and doubts since 1947. ♦

US Military's Casualties in Iraq and Afghanistan

George Bush Jr has not been as fortunate as his father in fighting America's wars. Already the casualties suffered by the US military in Iraq during the approximately one year that Operation Iraqi Freedom has completed, have crossed a figure of 500 deaths – more than Bush Sr got killed during the 1991 Gulf War.

*Air Commodore **TARIQ MAHMUD ASHRAF** analyses the US military casualties and how they have coped with it.*

Introduction



This paper began initially as an analysis of the US military casualties during Operation Iraqi Freedom and

then expanded to include Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan primarily because a need was felt to analyse the losses in at least one more recent conflict that the US forces were involved in so that a comparison could then be drawn. After an analysis of the US military casualties in these two wars had been completed, the striking similarities and differences between the two necessitated the writing of the third part which essentially is a comparative analysis of the US losses in both these military conflicts.

Analysis of the US Military's Personnel Losses in Operation Iraqi Freedom (Feb 2003 – Jan 2004)

George Bush Jr has not been as fortunate as his father in fighting America's wars. Already the casualties suffered by the US military in Iraq during the approximately one year that Operation Iraqi Freedom has completed, have crossed a figure of 500 deaths¹ – more than Bush Sr got killed during the 1991 Gulf War.

While the figures of the US casualties are available on numerous websites on the internet and a summary of these was also printed in the previous issue of the Strategic Vision, I felt the need for these casualties being analysed in order to highlight the pattern of casualties that have occurred.

From the data that I have been able to collect and analyse, it surmises that the total US casualties during this 22-month period have

reached 542. This figure is almost corroborated by the official US data released on the internet by the Directorate of Information Operations and Reports (DIOR) of the US Department of Defence (DoD). According to the data available on the DIOR website, American deaths now number 530². This figure includes 138 American deaths during the War against Iraq and 392 deaths after the fall of Baghdad.³

From the perspective of analysis, I have determined the following aspects on the basis of which I intend to analyse the data of these deaths:

- Monthly record of US military deaths
- Service-wise casualties suffered
- Casualties on the basis of Domicile (State/City of Origin)
- Casualties on the basis of Ethnicity/Race
- Casualties by age of victims
- Casualties by rank / status of victims
- Female casualties

Monthly record of US military deaths

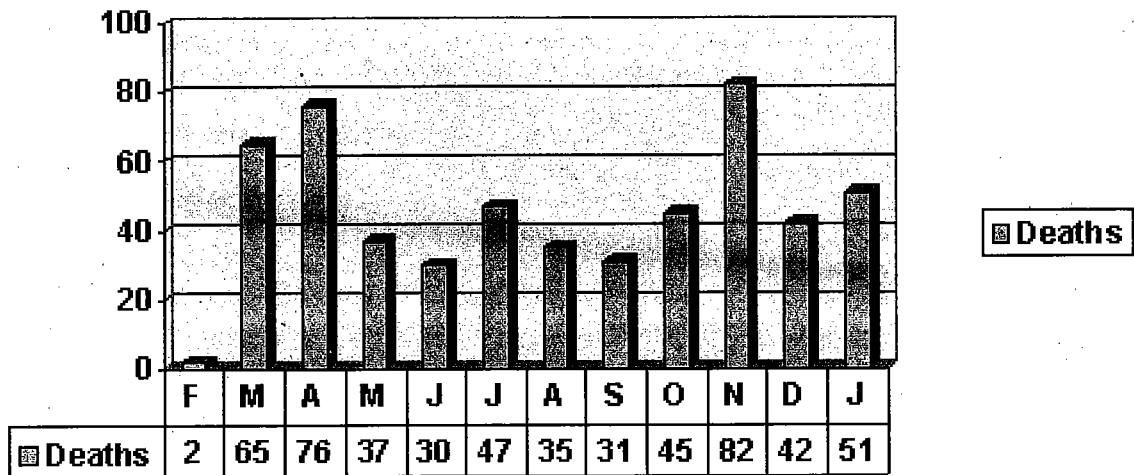


Figure 1: Monthly US Military Deaths during OIF (Feb 2003 – Jan 2004)

Breakdown of Service-wise casualties suffered

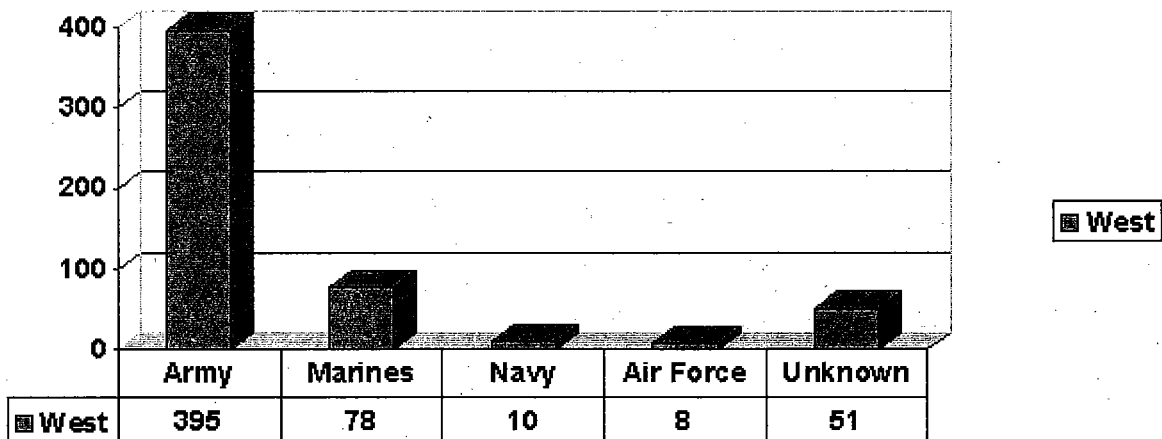


Figure 2: Service-wise US military Deaths⁴

- Casualties suffered by regular US forces and second-line forces (Reserves, National Guards etc)
- US military deaths due to hostile action and non-hostile reasons.

These figures indicate that of the 542 deaths that have occurred so far, the maximum occurred in the month of November 2003 with the

monthly average for the 12-month period working out to slightly in excess of 45 US military deaths. Current trends do not indicate any significant reduction in this rate and unless the situation changes radically, it could be expected that US military personnel would continue to die at this rate for the foreseeable future. Other than the sharp rise in the

month of November 2003, no discernible trend is visible in this data.

As could be expected, the maximum casualties have been suffered by the US Army since its elements are the ones that are actually on the ground and are facing the brunt of the Iraqi resistance. Since the US Marines were also employed in a supportive ground

combat role so their casualty rates are also high. The rates for the US Navy and the USAF, however, are fairly low since these Services were not involved either in the ground fighting or in the conduct of the ensuing anti-Iraqi resistance operations.

Another relevant aspect of the deaths suffered by the personnel of the various services becomes apparent when the operations prior to April 10 or the capture of Baghdad city are compared with the subsequent operations. This data is presented in a tabular format below.

reduced sharply after the so-called war was over and Baghdad had fallen since this marked the commencement of irregular Iraqi resistance to the US occupation. This brings out the following significant aspects:

The US relied heavily on its elite US Army elements during the 'war' phase and did not rely as much on the US Marine Corps.

Unlike the previous Gulf War where the USAF, USN and USMC aircraft assets were extensively employed to soften the enemy

contributed to the limited number of casualties subsequently suffered by the US land forces. It appears that this lesson from the previous Gulf War was not paid heed to fully this time.⁶

After Baghdad city had fallen, the US military leadership fully integrated the US marines units into the operations and this led to the sharp increase in deaths suffered by troops belonging to this service. The question here is, were the Marines adequately trained and equipped to conduct military

	Number of Dead		Percentage		Remarks
	Stage of Operations ⁵		Percentage		
Race / Ethnicity	Before	After	Before	After	
US Army	367	66	93.62%	47.83%	Sharp decrease
US Marine Corps	17	65	4.34%	47.10%	Sharp increase
USAF	3	4	0.76%	2.89%	Slight increase
US Navy	5	3	1.28%	2.17%	Slight increase
Totals	392	138			

Figure 3: Details of US Military Deaths Service-wise

It appears that this lesson from the previous Gulf War was not paid heed to fully this time. After Baghdad city had fallen, the US military leadership fully integrated the US marines units into the operations and this led to the sharp increase in deaths suffered by troops belonging to this service.

This data serves to substantiate the earlier statement that during the war, the US army's deaths were understandably high but these

ground forces, the same was not done during this war on the same scale. The softening of the enemy ground forces definitely

operations against irregular Iraqi resistance or should this task have been left to the US Army with the Marines protecting the US military strongholds rather than venturing on patrols into hostile territory.

Casualties on the basis of Domicile (State / City of origin)

Depicting the US military deaths on a map of the US States indicates several interesting aspects. First of all, the maximum number of US servicemen killed in Iraq belong to the state of California followed by Texas. More interestingly, the map reproduced below highlights that most of the dying troops belonged to the

Iraq Coalition Casualty Count

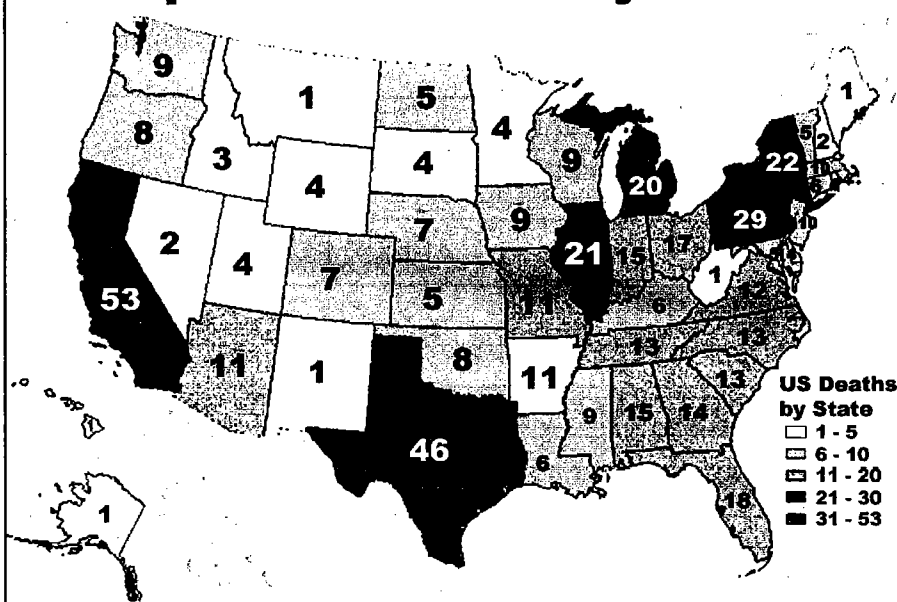


Figure 4: US Military deaths State-wise

It would be interesting to compare this city-wise casualty data with some of the other major wars that the US has been involved in, especially during the past 2-3 decades since by collating similar data from all possible recent wars would enable one to arrive at certain specific conclusions and findings regarding this aspect of the manpower that makes up the US military forces.

peripheral states of continental US with much lesser casualties belonging to the central region states. Another interesting aspect is that all of the US states are included in the list with no exception although the northern state of Alaska has just suffered one casualty up until now.

The map shows a concentration of the dead troops belonging to California, Texas and the north-eastern states.⁷

An even better picture of the geographical spread of the domicile of the dead US troops can be had from the following map of US cities that these troops belonged to. This map further strengthens the conclusion that most of the US military dead belonged to the peripheral / coastal region of the continental United States. One can easily discern the concentration of towards the North East (See Fig 4), the extreme South

and the extreme West of the United States landmass.

This distribution generally corresponds to the pattern of US population distribution and its demography. It could also be taken to be an indicator that most of the US military personnel hail from these states and cities that are concentrated along the periphery or the seaboard of the United States. One of the conclusions that could be drawn from the concentration of US military dead belonging to California and the US territory adjacent to the Mexican border is that most new immigrants from Mexico could be gravitating towards military service in the US armed forces due to lesser job and settlement opportunities being available for them elsewhere.

It would be interesting to compare this city-wise casualty data with some of the other major wars that the US has been involved in, especially during the past 2-3 decades since by collating similar data from all possible recent wars would enable one to arrive at certain specific conclusions and findings regarding this aspect of the manpower that makes up the US military forces.

Analysis of casualties on the basis of Ethnicity/Race

The data available on the DIOR website indicates that a total of 392 US military personnel were killed in Iraq prior to the occupation of Baghdad city while another 138 have been killed since⁸. For the purposes of a clearer explanation, I have taken the three major ethnic groups of the US (whites, black or African Americans and Hispanics or Latin Americans) for a comparative analysis

For reasons of simplification, I have grouped all the other ethnic communities and races (American Indian and Native Alaskan, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, Hawaiians etc) into the 'Others' category.

The data of US military deaths prior to the occupation of Baghdad city and after its occupation is depicted separately on the following table.

resistance that might have survived the initial onslaught. The second phase, surprisingly, saw a significant increase in the percentage of deaths

could have contributed to it:

The prime military formations of the US Army are predominantly White and as such these were

	Number of Dead		Percentage		Remarks
	Stage of Operations ⁹		Percentage		
Race / Ethnicity	Before	After	Before	After	
Black/African Americans	56	23	14.28	16.66	Increase of 1.38%
Hispanics/Latin Americans	38	24	9.69	17.39	Increase of 7.70%
Whites	280	84	71.42	60.86	Reduction of 10.56%
Others	18	7	4.58	5.07	Increase of 0.49%
Totals	392	138			

Figure 5: US Military deaths ethnicity and race-wise

The figure for US military deaths during the actual war leading up to the capture of Baghdad are more than twice those suffered during the period after Baghdad has fallen to the Coalition forces. This is understandable since the earlier period saw the Iraqi military contesting the allies and as such more US casualties ensued.

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After the fall of Baghdad where the coalition forces were essentially in a civil police role aimed at crushing any remnants of the Iraqi military

suffered by the US troops belonging to all the ethnic groups and races other than the Whites who registered a corresponding drop in their percentage of casualties. As an instance, while the percentage of Hispanic troops as a percentage of the dead almost doubled (it registered an increase of almost 80%), that of the Whites reduced sharply by a figure of over 10%. Although adequate data is not available with the author to justify this pronounced shift, it could be surmised that some, if not all of the following factors

employed during the 'war phase' with the other formations being relegated to a secondary role during this time. It must also be kept in mind that since the 'White' ethnic group constitutes almost two-thirds of the active US military strength, their number during any operational deployment would remain higher than the other ethnic groups and races.

After the annexation of Baghdad, it is possible that some of the elite White formations were withdrawn under the pretext of 'recycling' and gradually replaced with units that are manned mostly by Hispanics, Blacks and other ethnic groups.

Being relatively second-tier forces as compared with the White units, the Hispanic and Black military formations could have been employed more on the policing duties after the fall of Baghdad city and this exposed them to greater danger. Conversely, being more reliable, trustworthy and better trained / equipped, the White formations of the US military could have

been assigned static assignments within defended perimeters while the others could have been tasked to undertake patrols and security duties outside the strongholds. This again would have exposed them to greater danger. It is significant to note that while the 'White' troops lost much more than their percentage strength within the US military prior to the occupation of Baghdad. Their losses after this event roughly correspond to their presence in the US armed forces.

US Military Casualties by Age of victims

The data collected by the author from a variety of sources was then collated to analyse the US military deaths that have occurred in Iraq from the point of view of the age of the victims. The table below presents a summary of the data.

Age Group	Number of Deaths	Percentage of Total
Teenagers (>20 yrs)	42	7.74%
20 – 25 years	238	43.91%
26 – 30 years	123	22.69%
31 – 35 years	64	11.81%
36 – 40 years	43	7.93%
41- 45 years	23	4.24%
46 - 50 years	5	0.92%
50 years +	4	0.74%
Total	542	

Figure 6: Age-wise Death Casualty Data for US Military

More than half the total deaths (51.60%) were in the under 25 years categories. This indicates the youth, immaturity and the limited military training and experience of the victims.

The youngest victims (two) were barely 18 years of age. These youngsters could at best have just completed boot-camp training and were too young to be exposed to the cruelty of war. The

oldest US soldier to die in Iraq was aged 55 years.

Almost 20% of the dead fell in the 30-40 years of age category. This appears high since this bracket of individuals, having had adequate training, maturity and experience, would have reached the status of middle-level leadership that makes them the backbone of any combat organization. Such an inordinately high percentage of deaths in this age category must worry the US military planners and leadership.

Number of Dead			Percentage		Remarks
Stage of Operations ¹⁰			Percentage		
Rank/Status	Before	After	Before	After	
Officers	52	27	13.27	19.57	47% Increase
Enlisted Men	340	111	86.73	80.43	Corresponding decrease
Totals	392	138			

Figure 7: US Military Deaths during OIF – Rank/Status-wise

Data taken from the DIOR website and then analysed indicates a sharp increase in the percentage of officers being killed after the fall of Baghdad as compared with the period before Baghdad was captured. The data which indicates a significant change (increase) in the number of officers being killed during the period after the fall of Baghdad than during the preceding period of the conflict is presented in a tabular form below.

Analysis. Notwithstanding the fact that number of officers actually dying reduced after the capture of Baghdad city, the ratio between officers and enlisted personnel who were killed in action works out to **1: 6.5** before the fall of Baghdad, the same ratio changed to **1: 4.11** after the capture of Baghdad, thus registering a sharp increase. This increase in the proportion of officers being killed after the capture of Baghdad could have been caused by either or all of the following:

US Military Casualties by Rank / Status of victims

The ratio between the number of officers and enlisted men who die in any military operation varies with the type of operational leadership that a particular military force advocates and trains its personnel for and also by the type of military operations that are being undertaken.

Officers and leaders are distinct and easily recognizable by their behaviour and as such, in the time frame after the fall of Baghdad, the officers proved to be easier targets for the resistance and their snipers who could pick them out. Also, irregular enemy fighters prefer to take out officers and leaders because of the resultant disorganisation and

confusion that it is liable to create in the ranks of the adversary. The senior-most officer to be killed during Operation Iraqi Freedom was a Lieutenant Colonel.

The seriousness of the situation especially in the urban areas required the US military to send out officers with all or most of their patrols rather than leaving this responsibility to the senior enlisted personnel. Experience enlisted personnel, though competent and trained, are more at home on the traditional battlefield rather than in a situation of urban guerrilla warfare.

Female Casualties

Although female military personnel form a substantial part of the US military, their death losses have been fairly low. The author has been able to collect data about a total of 14 US military female personnel having been killed in Iraq between February 2003 and January 2004. Once again, as was the case in the case of the male death casualties, the maximum number of female US soldiers killed in Iraq also belonged to the US Army. Also, there was a sharp reduction in the female deaths after the fall of Baghdad probably because of their lesser operational involvement.

Although female military personnel form a substantial part of the US military, their death losses have been fairly low. The author has been able to collect data about a total of 14 US military female personnel having been killed in Iraq between February 2003 and January 2004. Once again, as was the case in the case of the male death casualties, the maximum number of female US soldiers killed in Iraq also belonged to the US Army.

All the female deaths that have occurred were suffered by female personnel of the US Army, both prior to the occupation of Baghdad as well as later. None of the female personnel from any of the other US military services got has been killed so far in Iraq. This is understandable since the females working in the US Army could have been deployed on combatant duties while those in the other services were or are not involved in such assignments. This low figure of female casualties also indicates that women soldiers are generally not assigned on first-line operational duties.

Casualties suffered by regular US forces and second-line forces (Reserves, National Guards etc).

The US justifiably prides itself on having a well-trained array of second-line military forces that can be mobilised rapidly and brought into action at a short notice. These second-tier forces comprise the Reserves and the National Guards. So high is the level of training and so well are these equipped that these formations often engage in war alongside their regular compatriots. The data given on the table below highlights a comparison between the deaths suffered by the US regular forces and the second-tier forces during the invasion of Iraq.

Although the figures do not indicate any specific trend, the following aspects merit a mention:

While the casualties amongst the regular forces have remained high, it could be said that while this was understandable during the 'war' phase, the second-tier forces should have assumed a greater load and burden of casualties afterwards.

Some media sources in the US are quoting a much higher percentage of casualties amongst the second-tier forces than can be discerned from this data. According to one source 26% of the deaths in October 2003 and 14% in November 2003 were suffered by the personnel of the second-tier forces.¹¹

Service	Number of Female Dead		Percentage	
	Before	After	Before	After
US Army	13	1	100%	100%
US Marine Corps	0	0	0	0
US Navy	0	0	0	0
USAF	0	0	0	0
Totals	13	1		

Figure 8: Data of Female Casualties

Service	Number of Deaths		Percentage		Remarks
	Before	After	Before	After	
Regulars	319	125	81.37%	90.58%	Increase
Reserves	32	9	8.16%	6.52%	Reduction
National Guards	41	4	10.46%	2.90%	Reduction
Reserves and National Guards combined	73	13	18.62%	9.42%	Reduction
Totals	392	138			

Figure 9 : Comparative Death figures - Regular Military / Reserves / National Guards

Service	Number of Deaths		Percentage		Remarks
	Before	After	Before	After	
Due to hostile enemy action	255	115	65.05%	83.33%	Increase
Due to non-hostile action or factors	137	23	34.95%	16.66%	Decrease
Totals	392	138			

Figure 10: Breakdown of US Military Casualties by Cause Factor

Casualties by Cause Factor

While casualties are a necessary albeit undesirable part of military conflicts, one very disturbing aspect of the US military casualties in Iraq is the causes that these deaths have been attributed to. Two significant areas of concern emerge in this analysis; the large number of deaths that have been attributed to non-hostile action or accidents etc and the significant number of deaths that have been attributed to fratricide of one form or the other. Both these areas on concern are elaborated upon in the subsequent text.

Casualties caused by hostile enemy action and due non-hos-

tile reasons.¹² As per the official US data available at the DIOR website, the following categorisation and detail of deaths due hostile action and non-hostile reasons has been prepared:

Considering the 'fog of war' that permeates all aspects of military activity, it is understandable that deaths due to non-hostile incidents of accidents etc were significantly higher during the period of operations leading up to the capture of Baghdad city than during the subsequent period of operations. Notwithstanding this accepted truth, however, losing more than one-third of the dead due to accidents and non-hostile reasons is a very high figure and should create a lot of worry amongst the US military plan-

ners and leaders. The fact that the stability of the post-Baghdad capture time frame allowed them to reduce these incidents drastically is, in my opinion, a very small and insignificant consolation and in fact should not be considered as a redeeming factor.

According to another website, the figure for US military deaths due to non-hostile factors almost constitutes 30% of the total deaths that have occurred so far. This is a very large percentage figure and must be addressed to by the Pentagon and its war managers.

Casualties caused by own military action (fratricide). The undesirable element of fratricide has been a part of wars ever since man decided to venture into mili-

Date	Rank and Name	Age	Cause of Death
May 18	Army Spc. Rasheed Sahib	22	Accidental weapon discharge by fellow soldier
April 13	Army Spc. Gil Mercado	25	Non-combat weapons discharge
Apr 14	Marine Cpl. Jason David Mileo	20	Friendly fire
April 24	Army Sgt. Troy David Jenkins	25	Blown up by own CBU
22 Mar	Army Capt. Christopher Scott Seifert	27	Grenade attack by fellow soldier
25 Mar	Air Force Maj. Gregory Stone	40	Grenade attack by fellow soldier
27 Mar	Marine Lance Cpl. Jesus A. Suarez Del Solar	20	Blown up by US CBU
	Navy Lt. Nathan D. White	30	Pilot of F/A-18C Hornet hit by own Patriot SAM
Sept 22	Army Spc. Paul J. Sturino	21	Accidental discharge of firearm by Fellow soldier
23 Aug	Army Spc. Stephen M. Scott	21	Non-hostile gunshot wound
July 11	Army Spc. Christian C. Schulz	20	Non-hostile firearms discharge
9 Jul (female)	Army Sgt. Melissa Valles	26	Non-combat gunshot wound
26 Jun	Navy Hospitalman Joshua McIntosh	22	Non-hostile gunshot wound
15 Jun	Marine Pfc. Ryan R. Cox	19	Non-combat weapon discharge
Figure 11: Confirmed / Possible cases of US Suicide / Fratricide during OIF			

tary conflicts to achieve his objectives. During Operation Iraqi Freedom, this element has assumed alarming proportions and has emerged as a major source of worry for the US military leaders.

Being the most sophisticated and advanced military machine that this world has ever seen, the US military boasts of a very high standard of technology assimilation especially as regards communication and identification aspects are concerned. It is quite disconcerting, therefore, that even such an advanced military machine is liable to being forced into committing deadly errors that lead to or result in the death of own military personnel.

While the collection of data on fratricides is difficult since even the normally reliable US sources do not make any mention of this, I have managed to arrive at some data based on an analysis of the causes of the deaths of the US military personnel. This is by no means a comprehensive list and also excludes the known confirmed cases of suicide that have occurred amongst US troops deployed in Iraq. It, however, would highlight that even in a military force as advanced and as technologically aware as the US Armed Forces, such undesirable and unwanted acts of fratricide can and will continue to occur.¹³

Conclusion

The aim of this article was to analyze the available data regarding the death of US military personnel during the ongoing Operation Iraqi Freedom so as to be able to analyze any specific pattern for these casualties. The objective of this analysis was to highlight why these casualties were occurring the way these were and what needs to be done by the US military leaders to correct the imbalances if any.

Analysing US Military losses in Afghanistan

Introduction

After having undertaken and completed an analysis of the US military casualties during Operation Iraqi Freedom, it was but logical to analyse the US military casualties in Afghanistan for a number of reasons; firstly, this war is much closer to Pakistan and a lot depends for us on its outcome, secondly, the events in Iraq have tended to overshadow the ongoing conflict in Afghanistan and thirdly, because the number of US military personnel that have been killed in Afghanistan has recently crossed the one hundred mark and these losses are also assuming serious proportions.

Readers would recall that Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) was launched less than a month after the tragic episodes of September 11, 2001. It commenced on 7 October 2001 and has continued since then with varying intensity. Unlike Iraq where the Americans have deployed almost 130,000 troops, the entire strength of the ISAF is 11,000 of which roughly 8,000 are Americans. In order to link this analysis with the previous article on the US military casualties in Iraq, I will keep referring to the figures in that so as to be able to draw out relevant comparisons wherever required.

This article will tackle the US military casualties in Afghanistan in two parts; firstly, it will deal with the death figures of US military personnel and then move on to elaborating on the data for those US military personnel who were wounded in action during operations in Afghanistan.

Analysis of the US Military's Personnel Losses (Deaths) during OEF in Afghanistan					
	Army	Navy	Marines	Air Force	Total
Hostile Action	33	3	1	8	45
Non-hostile factors	36	7	11	11	65
Total	69	10	12	19	110
Percentage	62.73%	9.1%	10.91%	17.27%	
		37.27%			

Figure 12: US Military Deaths in Afghanistan – Breakdown by Service¹⁴

Two salient aspects emerge from an analysis of this data:

Firstly, OEF being a predominantly army-run operation, the number of casualties suffered by the US army are the maximum but unlike the Iraq War where the other Services were not too intensively involved, here they also participated very actively and suffered almost two-fifth of the total casualties.

As was the case in the Iraq operations, the deaths due to non-hostile forces related reasons have again been very high. In fact, for all the four Services, as well as for

the US Military involved in Afghanistan as a whole, the number of military personnel who died because of non-hostile factors outnumbers those who were killed by enemy hostile action. Considering that the non-hostile reasons include illness, homicide, suicide and accidents of various sorts, this does not paint too happy a picture for the US Military. A more detailed analysis of the specific non-hostile factors that caused these deaths has been included towards the concluding portion of this article.¹⁵

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air Force	Total	Percentage
Male	69	10	11	17	107	97.27%
Female	0	0	1	2	3	2.73%
Total	69	10	12	19	110	

Figure 13 : US Military Deaths in Afghanistan – Breakdown by Gender

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air Force	Total	Percentage
Officers	9	0	3	3	15	13.64%
Enlisted E5-E9	37	6	6	13	62	86.36%
Enlisted E1-E4	23	4	3	3	33	
Enlisted Total	60	10	12	19	95	
Total	69	10	12	19	110	

Figure 14: US Military Deaths in Afghanistan – Breakdown by Rank / Status

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air Force	Total	Percentage
<22 years	10	3	3	0	16	14.54%
22-24 yrs	8	2	1	4	15	13.63%
25-30 yrs	19	1	6	5	31	28.18%
31-35 yrs	18	3	0	3	24	21.82%
>35 years	14	1	2	7	24	21.82%
Total	69	10	12	19	110	

Figure 15: US Military Deaths in Afghanistan – Breakdown by Age

Once again, just like the Iraq Operations, the number of female casualties remained very low when compared with those suffered by their male counterparts. During OEF the female deaths which constituted less than 3% of the total could possibly be attributed to one or more of the following factors:

The realization that they were venturing into an environment of fundamentalist Taliban-style Islam, the US military leaders purposely included lesser female personnel in the forces earmarked for OEF operations.

The US military generally avoids deploying female soldiers on the actual frontline and employs them more on headquarters and staff related functions that are carried out in the rear.

Employing female soldiers on a large scale in a fundamentalist Islamic society where even the

native women were not permitted to venture outside the four walls of their homes without being covered from head to toe could have created adjustment and functional problems for the US female soldiers.

While the US military operations in Iraq commenced with full-fledged war against the regular elements of Saddam Hussein's army and his over-rated Republican Guards, the situation in Afghanistan was entirely different. Here the Americans were confronted with an entirely irregular and unconventional adversary right from the outset. Since small-scale operations had to be undertaken against the scattered Taliban elements and these required officers as leaders, one would have expected the percentage of officers being killed in Afghanistan to be more than those that died in Iraq when com-

pared with number of enlisted personnel who lost their lives. This, however, is not what the data indicates. The relative percentage of US military officers who died during OEF is almost the same that were killed during the war in Iraq prior to the fall of Baghdad but is appreciably lesser than the percentage of officers who were killed subsequently.

The above anomaly suggests that unlike the Iraqi resistance that was able to focus on the officers as a target, the Taliban did not or could not do the same. One reason could be that most of the operations in Iraq were taking place in urban areas where the resistance is more active while this was not and is still not the case in Afghanistan.

Unlike the data for the US military operations in Iraq where a number of US websites provide detailed information about each and every individual who has been killed or

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air Force	Total	Percentage
Active	55	10	10	17	92	83.64%
Reserves	6	0	2	1	9	8.18%
National Guard	8	0	0	1	9	8.18%
Total	69	10	12	19	110	

Figure 16: US Military Deaths in Afghanistan – Breakdown by Service/Reserves

wounded in action, I could not find similar data for the US forces fighting in Afghanistan. Of the total 110 deaths, I was able to find out the exact ages and domicile data for only 84 and as such, I was forced to resort to this generic format data to highlight the age of the US military personnel who lost their lives during OEF in Afghanistan.

Analysis of the above data and its comparison with the situation in Iraq highlights the following significant aspects:

The average age of the US combatants who were and are deployed to Afghanistan is significantly higher than those despatched to Iraq. While in the case of Iraq more than half of the US troops who were killed were below 25 years of age, in the case of Afghanistan this percentage dropped to barely above 28%¹⁶. This indicates the US forces sent to fight the Taliban in Afghanistan were more mature and seasoned soldiers. This leads one to the obvious conclusion that the Americans thought that fighting the Taliban would probably be much more difficult than fighting Saddam Hussein's army.

A similar noticeable anomaly exists between the US forces deployed for OEF and those deployed in Iraq when one considers the troops who fall in the above 30 years age category. In

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air Force	Total
American Indian/Alaskan	0	0	0	1	1
Asian American	0	0	0	0	0
Black/African American	2	2	2	0	6
Hispanic/Latin American	6	0	2	2	10
Multiple/Unknown	0	0	0	0	0
Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	0	0	0	1	1
White	61	8	8	15	92
Total	69	10	12	19	110

Figure 17: US Military Deaths in Afghanistan – Breakdown by Ethnicity/Race

the case of the OEF troops, a significantly higher proportion of such personnel were killed in action as compared with the operations in Iraq. This again strengthens the assertion that assuming the Taliban to be a more stronger adversary, the US military planners deployed more senior and trained troops to Afghanistan than to Iraq.

As was the case with the analysis of the Age-wise breakdown of the

casualties, the comparison of the involvement of the active and the reserve / National Guard elements also presents a similar picture.

The losses suffered by the US military regular forces in Afghanistan in comparison with the Reserve and the National Guards elements were significantly higher than the similar figures for Iraq probably because of the following reasons:

Considering the Taliban to be a far more formidable foe than the

Iraqi armed forces, the Americans deployed more active troops and lesser Reserve / National Guard elements to Afghanistan.

The fear of higher human losses led to the Americans to use the active troops as the front-tier fighting elements with the Reserves / National Guard units being deployed for static defence of the US military strongholds in Afghanistan.

Traditionally, the troops belonging to the Hispanic and the African American ethnic groups have been just behind the Whites as regards war casualties. In Afghanistan, however, one sees predominantly White troops suffering significantly higher casualties than the other racial and ethnic groups. This could be attributable to one of more of the following reasons:

The Americans were unduly worried about the capabilities and combat potential of the Taliban forces and decided to rely mostly on their elite Whites – only military units.

Black and Hispanic troops were considered inferior to the White servicemen and not employed for front-line combat duties in Afghanistan.

With a sizeable number of Black Americans embracing Islam, it would have been inadvisable to deploy units with a high percentage of African Americans to a fundamentalist Islamic country such as Afghanistan.

The above analysis of the US military casualties sustained during OEF operations in Afghanistan pertained only to the deaths that occurred. This analysis brought out several interesting differences when compared with the US mili-

Analysis of the US Military's Personnel Losses (Wounded) during OEF in Afghanistan

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air Force	Total
Hostile action	184	0	9	20	213
Non-hostile factors	0	0	0	0	0
Total	184	8	9	20	213

Figure 18: US Military Wounded in Afghanistan – Breakdown by Service

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air Force	Total
Male	183	0	9	20	212
Female	1	0	0	0	1
Total	184	0	9	20	213

Figure 19: US Military Wounded in Afghanistan – Breakdown by Gender

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air Force	Total	Percentage
Officers	28	0	1	1	30	14.08%
Enlisted E5-E9	93	0	2	19	114	
Enlisted E1-E4	63	0	6	0	69	
Enlisted Total	156	0	8	19	183	85.92%
Grand Total	184	0	17	39	213	

Figure 20: US Military Wounded in Afghanistan – Breakdown by Rank / Status

Black and Hispanic troops were considered inferior to the White servicemen and not employed for front-line combat duties in Afghanistan. With a sizeable number of Black Americans embracing Islam, it would have been inadvisable to deploy units with a high percentage of African Americans to a fundamentalist Islamic country such as Afghanistan.

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air Force	Total	Percentage
<22 years	23	0	3	0	26	14.13%
22-24 yrs	25	0	3	0	28	15.22%
25-30 yrs	57	0	2	9	68	36.96%
31-35 yrs	34	0	0	7	41	22.28%
>35 years	33	0	1	0	37	20.11%
Total	184	0	9	20	213	

Figure 21: US Military Wounded in Afghanistan – Breakdown by Age

tary operations in Iraq. In order to present the reader with a comprehensive overview of the pattern of casualties suffered, the subsequent portion of this article will dilate on those US troops who were wounded in action during operations in OEF.

The data for the US troops who were wounded in action during OEF operations depicts a similar trend as for those who were killed with the US Army suffering the brunt of the casualties followed by the USAF and the US Marine Corps.

Female US troops suffered significantly less wounded casualties than their male compatriots. This indicates that female troops were either not deployed on dangerous assignments or were deployed at more secure locations which reduced their exposures to the hazards of combat.

No significant trend is visible from an analysis of the US troops who were wounded in action in Afghanistan when viewed from a comparison of the breakdown of the wounded on the basis of their rank and status.

The percentage of officers who were wounded (14.08%) is only slightly higher than the percentage of officers who died or were killed in action (13.64%). The total number of US military personnel who were wounded in action dur-

	Army	Navy	Marines	Air Force	Total	Percentage
American Indian/Alaskan	1	0	0	1	2	0.94%
Asian American	1	0	0	0	1	0.47%
Black/African American	10	0	0	0	10	4.7%
Hispanic/Latin American	7	0	1	1	9	4.23%
Multiple/Unknown	13	0	1	0	14	6.57%
Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	0	0	0	0	0	
White	152	0	7	18	177	83.10%
Total	184	0	7	20	213	

Figure 22: US Military Wounded in Afghanistan – Breakdown by Ethnicity / Race

ing OEF works out to slightly more than double the number of personnel who were killed in action or died as a consequence of wounds suffered in action.

This data again indicates that the US forces deployed for OEF operations in Afghanistan comprised of more seasoned and experienced servicemen. The highest number of wound casualties was suffered by the troops in the 25-30 years bracket (36.96%) followed closely by the

youngest group that was below 25 years of age (29.35%) while more than two-fifth (42.39%) of those wounded in action belonged to the above 30 years age group.

As has been the case with the deaths, the maximum personnel who were wounded in action in Afghanistan belonged to the White ethnic group (83.1%) followed distantly by the Blacks / African Americans (4.7%) and the Hispanics/Latin Americans (4.23%).

	Total	Army	USN	USMC	USAF	
Killed in Action	26	17	2	1	6	45 (41%)
Died of Wounds in Action	19	16	1	0	2	
Total Hostile	45	33	3	1	8	
Accidents	51	27	3	10	11	65 (59%)
Illness	4	3	1	0	0	
Homicide	0	0	0	0	0	
Self-inflicted	6	3	2	1	0	
Undetermined/not finalised	4	3	1	0	0	
Total non-hostile deaths	65	36	7	11	11	
Total in theatre deaths	110	69	10	12	19	
Total wounded in action but not mortally	213	184	0	9	20	
Grand total Casualties	323	253	10	21	39	646

Figure 23: Summary of US Military Casualties in Afghanistan – Breakdown by Service

One of the surprising factors is the high number of wounded military personnel (14, or almost 7%) who have been categorized as belonging to multiple or unknown ethnic backgrounds. For a military force as advanced as the US armed forces, it is difficult to comprehend why the ethnic or racial background of the combatants could be classified as unknown.

More interestingly, a majority of those categorised as belonging to multiple or unknown racial groups were from the US Army with only belonging to the US Marine Corps. As was the case with those who were killed in action the losses suffered by the various ethnic groups and races are not in accordance with their actual numerical presence in the US military.

The most serious anomaly that is highlighted from this summary of the

Date	Rank and Name	Cause of Death
12 Nov 2003 Suicide	Army Staff Sgt. Nathan J. Bailey	Non-hostile gunshot wound in Camp Arifjan, Afghanistan.
5 Dec 2001	Army Staff Sgt Brian Cody Prosser	B-52 aircraft bomber missed its target
	Army Master Sgt Jefferson Donald Davis	
	Army Sergeant First Class Daniel Henry Petithory	
29 Nov 2001 Suicide Teenager	Army Pvt. Giovanni Maria	

Figure 24: Confirmed and Suspected cases of Suicide/Fratricide during OEF

US military casualties during OEF operations in Afghanistan is the unacceptably high rate of deaths and injuries due to non-hostile reasons.

On the whole, the deaths and injuries suffered by the US military in Afghanistan have been caused more by non-hostile factors such as sick-

ness and suicide (59%) rather than by hostile enemy action (41%).

Amongst the non-hostile factors two prominent aspects stand out – the very high number of accidental deaths (51 or 46.36%) and the significant number of suicides (6 or 5.45%). It is considered essential that these two aspects must be studied and analysed in much greater details by the US military planners and leadership before they embark on yet another military adventure. While the details for the suicides and the fratricide incidents are difficult to come by, I have prepared a list of the confirmed and suspected cases of suicide and fratricide for five US military personnel participating in OEF.

Conclusion

An in-depth analysis of the casualties (deaths and injuries) suffered during a military campaign is essential so as to arrive at a list of urgent corrective measures that the military needs to incorporate in its planning to avoid recurrence of the same in any future conflicts that it embarks upon.

While the number of casualties would vary radically from situation to situation and from adversary to adversary, some of the common strings that are highlighted by an analysis of the events of recent military conflicts would go a long way in ensuring that the errors and mistakes of the previous conflicts are not repeated subsequently.

As the reader, especially one who has read the previous article on an analysis of the US Casualties in Iraq would have discerned, there are certain significant differences that emerge from a comparison of how the US military conducted the two campaigns – the one in Iraq and the one in Afghanistan. I plan to write the third of the articles in this series on a comparative analysis of the US military personnel losses during Operation Iraqi Freedom and Operation Enduring Freedom.

Iraq and Afghanistan:

Comparing the US Military Personnel Casualties

In two previous parts of this paper, I have analyzed the US military personnel losses in the war against Iraq and during the Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan separately. While analysing the data about the US operational and non-operational casualties in these two wars, it struck me that while there were several similarities in the data, there were also several differences that stood out prominently. This realization provided the impetus for this third and concluding portion in which I intend to compare the US military losses in these two wars and try to highlight and bring home some lessons that could be learnt from the way that the military operations were conducted. For the purpose of this comparative analysis, I intend to focus on the following key

aspects relating to the casualties suffered by the US military during Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) and Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) in Afghanistan:

- * Casualties vis-à-vis Troops Deployed
- * Service-wise casualties suffered
- * Casualties on the basis of Ethnicity/Race
- * Casualties by Age of victims
- * Casualties by Rank / Status of Victims
- * Female casualties
- * Casualties suffered by regular and second-line forces (Reserves/National Guards)
- * Casualties due to hostile action and non-hostile reasons

Analysis of the comparative data depicted in Figure 25 highlights the following significant aspects:

Casualties vis-à-vis Troops Deployed		
	Operation Iraqi Freedom	Operation Enduring Freedom
Total US Troops Deployed	130,000	8,000
Total casualties (deaths)	542 ¹⁷	110
Time Period (months)	12	29
Deaths as % of Deployed Forces	0.42%	1.375%
Deaths as % of Deployed Forces / Month	0.035%	0.047%
Average Deaths of Deployed Forces / Month	45.16	3.79
Figure 25: Comparative Deaths vis-à-vis Deployed Strength		

	Operation Iraqi Freedom ¹⁸	Operation Enduring Freedom
Total US Troops Deployed	130,000	8,000
Total casualties (deaths)	138	110
Time Period (months)	10	29
Deaths as % of Deployed Forces	0.106%	1.375%
Deaths as % of Deployed Forces/Month	0.0106%	0.047%
Average Deaths of Deployed Forces/Month	13.8	3.79

**Figure 26: Comparison of Deaths vis-à-vis Deployed Forces:
OEF and OIF¹⁹ (after fall of Baghdad)**

	OIF		OEF	
Service	Deaths	Percentage	Deaths	Percentage
US Army	433	81.7%	69	62.73%
USMC	82	15.47%	12	10.91%
USAF	7	1.32%	19	17.27%
USN	8	1.51%	10	9.09%
Total	530 ²⁰		110	
		640		

Figure 27: Details of Comparative US Military Deaths Service-wise

While the average US military personnel who were killed as a function of the total deployed force is significantly higher in the case of Operation Enduring Freedom (1.375%) when compared with the rate for Iraq (0.42%), it has to be considered that this is attributable to two reasons; firstly, because the number of US troops deployed to Afghanistan is much lower than those that were sent to Iraq and secondly, because the duration for which the operations in Afghanistan have been going on is almost 2.5 times the duration of the Iraq war (12 months against 29 months).

Because of lesser US troops being sent to Afghanistan and due to the prolonged duration of

the conflict, the average monthly deaths of US military personnel in Afghanistan (3.76) is fairly low as compared with the figure for Iraq (45.5). This is attributable to the fact that whereas the operations in Iraq commenced with a full-fledged war against regular adversary forces, those in Afghanistan did not involve any war and were confined to operations against an irregular and unconventional adversary.

Considering that the operations in Afghanistan bear more similarity to the operations conducted in Iraq after the fall of Baghdad on 9 April, 2003, a comparison of the casualties suffered by the US forces in Afghanistan with those suffered in Iraq after 9 April would be in order.

Since the post-9 April operations in Iraq bear more similarity with the

OEF operations in Afghanistan, one can see a sharp drop in some of the calculated data which appears to be more akin to the data for the OEF operations than when the war casualties in Iraq had also been included.

Service-wise Casualties

Although all the Services of the US military have actively participated both, in Iraq as well as in Afghanistan, the degree of involvement has varied during different stages of these conflicts. Even a cursory look at the way these military operations unfolded reveals that both these conflicts were essentially army-centric and involved major participation by the US Army. This was, and still is more noticeable in Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) than in the Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) in Afghanistan.

As could be expected, the maximum casualties have been suffered by the US Army since its elements are the ones that are actually on the ground in large numbers and are facing the brunt of the adversary resistance. Since the US Marines were also employed in a supportive ground combat role to the US Army, their casualty rates are also fairly high. The rates for the US Navy and the USAF, however, are fairly low since these Services were not involved either in the ground fighting or in the conduct of the ensuing anti-Iraqi resistance operations.

Since both the operations were essentially army-centric conflicts requiring the extensive involvement of the US Army, this service suffered the maximum casualties in Iraq as well as in Afghanistan. In OIF the Army's casualty rate reduced substantially after the fall of Baghdad but still remained the highest.

In OIF the involvement of the other Services was of a minimal nature, especially as regards USN and USAF. As such, the losses sustained by them were the least. The death casualty figures indicate that the OIF, though a tri-service operation, was dominated by the Army. In the case of the OEF, however, the involvement of the other Services was substantially more and that is why the OEF was more of a joint service operation than the OIF. During OEF more than one-fourth of the casualties were suffered by personnel belonging to the USN and USAF while these services suffered less than 3% of the total death casualties during OIF.

The factor of the degree of involvement of the Services emerges as an important one. In OEF, due to the requirements of bombing Taliban hideouts and transporting troops rapidly from one location to another, the involvement of the USAF increased substantially as compared with

OIF. This is probably why the USAF is the only one of the four US military services to have lost more personnel in Afghanistan than in Iraq.

Casualties on the basis of Ethnicity/Race

The data available on the DIOR website indicates that a total of 392 US military personnel were killed in Iraq prior to the occupation of Baghdad city while another 138 have been killed since²¹. For the purposes of a clearer explanation, I have taken the three major ethnic groups of the US (whites, black or African Americans and Hispanics or Latin Americans) for a comparative analysis. For reasons of simplification, I have grouped all other ethnic communities and races (American Indian and Native Alaskan, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, Hawaiians etc) into the 'Other' category. The comparative data of US military deaths during both the conflicts is depicted in the following table.

OIF. This could indicate that either more White troops were deployed during OEF or that personnel belonging to the other racial and ethnic groups were not deployed in large numbers in Afghanistan. One reason for employing more White troops could be that the Black soldiers would have been much more easily recognizable and identifiable because of their complexion while the Whites could have mingled with the locals, most of whom have fair complexions and the troops from the other coalition partners. Another reason could have been that having determined the Taliban to be a more formidable enemy, the Pentagon wanted to use its prime and elite assets, most of which are units manned by White personnel. In this regard, the factor of more and more blacks embracing Islam everyday in America can also not be discounted as a contributory factor especially when one considers that the opposition in Afghanistan was a fundamentalist Islamic regime.

Another significant aspect to note is the large difference in the

OIF			OEF	
Race/Ethnicity	Deaths	Percentage	Deaths	Percentage
Blacks/African Americans	79	14.91%	10	9.09%
Whites	364	68.68%	92	83.64%
Hispanic/Latin Americans	62	11.70%	6	5.45%
Others	25	4.71%	2	1.82%
Total	530 ²²		110	
	640			

Figure 28: Comparative US Military deaths ethnicity and race-wise

The death casualty rate for 'Whites' has remained the maximum in OIF as well as OEF operations. In comparative terms, a significantly higher proportion of the deaths during OEF were suffered by White US servicemen than during

casualties suffered by US troops belonging to racial groups and ethnicities other than the main groups of Whites, Blacks and Hispanics. Having contributed almost 5% of the dead troops in Iraq, this eth-

nic amalgam accounted for less than 2% of the deaths that occurred during OEF. Once again the reasons could be reluctance to deploy these individuals or preference being given to the more reliable and better trained White troops.

On the whole, the rate of deaths amongst the ethnic communities in the US military other than the White majority also does not correspond to their percentage strength in the Services. According to official US Government data, the minorities (including blacks, Hispanics and other races) constituted over one-third of the US active military personnel strength in the year 2000 and if at all, this percentage should have increased further subsequently.²³ Another discrepancy exists in the casualties sustained by the 'Whites' which were much more than their percentage share of two-thirds in the US military would have warranted.

US Military Casualties by Age of victims

The data collected by the author from a variety of sources was collated to analyse the US military deaths that have occurred in Iraq and Afghanistan from the point of view of the age of the victims. The table below presents a summary of the data.

	OIF		OEF		
Age Group	Deaths	% age	Age Group	Deaths	% age
<20 yrs	42	7.74%	<22 years	16	14.54%
20 – 25 years	238	43.91%	22-24 yrs	15	13.63%
26 – 30 years	123	22.69%	25-30 yrs	31	28.18%
31 – 35 years	64	11.81%	31-35 yrs	24	21.82%
36 – 40 years	43	7.93%	>35 years	24	21.82%
41- 45 years	23	4.24%			
46 - 50 years	5	0.92%			
50 years +	4	0.74%			
Total	542			110	

Figure 29: Comparative Age-wise Death Casualty Data for US Military²⁴

	OIF		OEF	
Rank/Status	Deaths	Percentage	Deaths	Percentage
Officers	79	14.91%	15	13.64%
Enlisted Men	451	85.09%	95	86.36%
Total	530 ²⁵		110	

Figure 30: Comparative Rank-wise US Military Deaths

The overall age of those US military personnel who were killed during OEF appears to be significantly higher than the similar figure for OIF. This assertion is substantiated by the fact that while more than half (51.6%) of those who died in OIF were less than 25 years of age, the corresponding figure for OEF is just 28.17%. This could have occurred because of one or more of the following reasons:

Considering the Taliban to be a much more potent adversary than they actually turned out to be, the US deployed more mature and experienced personnel to Afghanistan. This is also borne out by the fact that in OEF the percentage of troops over the age of 35 years who lost their lives is much higher than during OIF.

Since a much lesser number of personnel had to be sent to Afghanistan, the US could afford

to be selective in sending mostly senior and experienced personnel. The large scale of the deployment in Iraq, however, precluded them doing the same in the case of OIF and the large number of personnel that had to be deployed necessitated the US sending a fair number of younger and inexperienced troops to Iraq.

US Military Casualties by Rank / Status of victims

The ratio between the number of officers and enlisted men who die in any military operation varies with the type of operational leadership that a particular military force advocates and trains its personnel for and also by the type of military operations that are being undertaken.

This data indicates that the ratio of officers and enlisted personnel who lost their lives during OIF and OEF has remained roughly the same with no significant deviation being recorded. In fact the percentage of officers who lost their lives during OEF reduced slightly in comparison with the data for OIF.

The ratio between the losses for officers and enlisted personnel during works out to **1:6.71** or one officer for every 6.71 enlisted persons during OIF while the same figure for OEF operations is **1:6.33** or one officer being killed for every 6.33 enlisted persons.

Interestingly, the rate of officers being killed rose significantly after the fall of Baghdad during OIF. This

probably occurred because the officers, being prominent as leaders became a choice target for the resistance fighters in Iraq. Surprisingly, this trend does not appear in an analysis of the QEF operations where the entire operations were conducted against fleeting an irregular adversary.

Female Casualties

Although female military personnel form a substantial part of the US military, their death losses have been fairly low. The author has been able to collect data about a total of 14 US military female personnel having been killed in Iraq between February 2003 and January 2004 with only three such female fatalities occurring in Afghanistan. Once again, as was the case in the case of the male death casualties, the maximum number of female US soldiers killed in Iraq also belonged to the US Army. Also, there was a sharp reduction in the female deaths after the fall of Baghdad since females in subsequent operations were probably generally stationed within the US military strongholds and not tasked to venture outside. The consolidated data on US female casualties in Iraq and Afghanistan is presented below.

	OIF		OEF	
Gender	Deaths	Percentage	Deaths	Percentage
Male	516	97.36%	107	97.27%
Female	14	2.64%	3	2.73%
Total	530 ²⁶		110	
Figure 31: Comparative Data of Female Casualties				

All the female deaths that have occurred during OIF were suffered by personnel of the US Army. In the case of OEF, however, the female casualties were from the Marine Corps (one) and the USAF (two) with none belonging to the US Army.

The low percentage of female casualties in both, the OPIF as well as the OEF operations is not commensurate with the representation of females in the US military since females account for almost 15% of the US active forces²⁷. This clearly indicates that despite the high representation of females in the US military, their involvement in front-line active operations is extremely limited.

Casualties suffered by regular US forces and second-line forces (Reserves, National Guards etc).

The US justifiably prides itself on having a well-trained array of second-line military forces that can be mobilised rapidly and brought into action at a short notice.

	OIF		OEF	
Category of Troops	Deaths	Percentage	Deaths	Percentage
Regulars	444	83.77%	92	83.64%
Reserves	41	7.74%	9	8.18%
National Guards	45	8.49%	9	8.18%
Reserves and National Guards combined	86	16.23%	18	16.36%
Total	530 ²⁸		110	

Figure 32: Comparative Death figures - Regular military/Reserves/National Guards

highlights a comparison between the deaths suffered by the US regular forces and the second-tier forces during OIF and OEF.

The figures for comparative death casualties suffered by the active US military and the second-line forces such as the Reserves and the National Guard elements do not show any significant difference between OIF and OEF with the relative casualty rates remaining roughly the same.

Some media sources in the US are quoting a much higher percentage of casualties amongst the second-tier forces involved in the fighting in Iraq than can be discerned from this data. According to one

source 26% of the deaths in October 2003 and 14% in November 2003 during OIF operations were suffered by the personnel of the second-tier forces.²⁹

Casualties by Cause Factor

As alluded to earlier, one of the most serious aspects that has been highlighted during this research into the US military casualties in Iraq and Afghanistan is the inordinately high number of casualties that have been attributed to non-hostile reasons including accidents, illness, homicide/suicide and fratricide or friendly fire. These aspects of con-

The second-tier US military forces comprise of the Reserves and the National Guards. So high is the level of training of these elements and so well are these equipped that these formations often engage in war alongside their regular compatriots. The data given on the table above

cern have been elaborated upon in the subsequent text. As per the official US data available at the DIOR website, the following categorization and detail of deaths due hostile action and non-hostile reasons has been prepared:

US military is not well-trained or equipped to undertake unconventional warfare against an irregular adversary. A more detailed analysis of the specific non-hostile factors that these deaths are attributed to has been made in the subsequent text.

While the entire war in Afghanistan was more akin to a low intensity conflict against an irregular adversary, the war in Iraq also became the same after the fall of Baghdad. It needs to be studied whether the heavy equipment and machinery that the US forces are using is suited for such low intensity conflict situations that they were confronted with. Considering the combined data for OIF and OEF, it surmises that slightly less than two-third (64.84%) of the deaths were attributable to hostile action while the remaining one-third (35.16%) deaths were caused by non-hostile factors

	OIF		OEF	
Cause	Deaths	Percentage	Deaths	Percentage
Hostile action	370	69.81%	45	40.91%
Non-hostile factors	160	30.19%	65	59.09%
Total	530		110	

Figure 33: Comparative Cause-wise data for US Military deaths in Iraq

OIF			OEF	
Category of Troops	Deaths	Percentage	Deaths	Percentage
Killed in Action	334		26	
Died of Wounds in Action	36		19	
Total Hostile	370	69.81%	45	40.91%
Accidents	102	19.24%	51	46.36%
Illness	19	3.58%	4	3.64%
Homicide	3	0.57%	0	0
Self-inflicted	18	3.39%	6	5.45%
Undetermined / not finalised	18	3.39%	4	3.64%
Total non-hostile deaths	160	30.19%	65	59.09%
Total in theatre deaths	530		110	

Figure 34: Comparative Details of Causes of Death

While the ratio for the deaths in Iraq is still slightly acceptable since almost 70% of the casualties were caused by hostile action, the percentage figure of over 30% for deaths attributed to non-hostile reasons or factors is considered very high.

In the case of the OEF operations, however, the ratio is completely lopsided with more US military deaths having been caused by non-hostile factors than by enemy action. This is a completely unacceptable situation and could be construed to mean that the

Some factors that need to be considered in this regard are:

Analysis needs to be conducted of the state of familiarisation of the US military personnel with the heavy machinery and equipment that they could be required to operate during contingencies. The safety awareness of these personnel about the operational safety precautions for their equipment also needs to be assessed.

Details of US Military Personnel Deaths caused by non-hostile reasons

Considering that some reports are suggesting a high number of suicides being committed by US military personnel, a detailed analysis of the specific reasons behind the deaths caused by factors other than hostile factors is necessary. Essentially, the non-hostile reasons that have led to the deaths of US military personnel in Iraq include illness, homicide and suicide³⁰

Deaths due non-hostile category of reasons constitute over 30% of the total deaths that the US military personnel have suffered during operations in Iraq and this figure goes up sharply to almost 60% of the deaths that have occurred during OEF in Afghanistan. In order to elaborate on this critical area, I have discussed briefly the aspects of deaths by suicide, accidents, illness and fratricide separately.

Homicide and Suicide. While the three cases of homicide in Iraq are worrying in their own regard, the high number of suicides (18) is an even more worrying aspect. The deaths due to homicide and suicide account for almost 4% of the total death toll in Iraq while in Afghanistan this percentage goes beyond 5%. The psychological factors that could have contributed to high stress and ultimately to suicide or homicide also merit a much more detailed study. These deaths, especially the homicides also point to the level of discipline and control being maintained in the US military. Fortunately there have been no deaths that have been attributed to homicide in Afghanistan but the suicides by themselves have accounted for over 5% of the total deaths in this theatre.

Accidents. As mentioned earlier also, the very high rate of deaths caused due to equipment and weapons related accident is the most serious cause of worry since it indicates that either the equipment operators have not been imparted adequate training or that the users are not aware of the safety precautions that have to be taken while operating the equipment or weapon system. It is difficult to comprehend that over 23% or almost one-fourth of the total US military deaths in Iraq and Afghanistan combined were attributed to accidents.

Illness. Considering that active-duty military personnel are

extremely fit from the medical perspective and also undergo regular physical training, the conclusion from this data of over 3.5% of the US military deaths in Iraq and Afghanistan being attributable to illness should be extremely worrying for the US military leadership. While deploying abroad to Third World countries does increase the vulnerability of personnel to a variety of serious diseases, the US military's medical support units should be qualified enough to tackle such situations effectively. It also needs to be considered that several of the seriously sick and wounded US military personnel had to be evacuated to the Continental US or Europe for provision of good medical care that was not available in-theatre.

Fratricide. The undesirable element of fratricide has been a part of wars ever since man decided to venture into military conflicts to achieve his objectives. During Operation Iraqi Freedom, this element has assumed alarming proportions and has emerged as a major source of worry for the US military leaders.

Being the most sophisticated and advanced military machine that this world has ever seen, the US military boasts of a very high standard of technology assimilation especially as regards communication and identification aspects are concerned. It is quite disconcerting, therefore, that even such an advanced military machine is liable to being forced into committing deadly errors that lead to or result in the death of own military personnel. For details of the confirmed and suspected suicide and fratricide cases during OIF and OEF, please refer to Figure 12 in Part-1 and Figure 25 in Part-2 respectively.

Conclusion

What started off as a brief analyti-

cal article on the US military's personnel losses in Iraq ultimately ended up in the form of this detailed research paper which not only covers the entire spectrum of US military deaths suffered in Iraq and Afghanistan but also provides a comparison between the two most recent military conflicts that the US military has been involved in.

The purpose of this paper is not to criticize the way these conflicts unfolded and how the conduct of these campaigns was managed but rather to objectively analyse the causes of the US military deaths in these two conflicts so as to derive some lessons that could become handy for future such operations. ♦

End Notes

¹http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/low/middle_east/3405525.stm

²According to the DIOR data, this figure of 530 includes 392 American deaths during the War against Iraq and 138 deaths after the fall of Baghdad.

³The DIOR data can be accessed on the internet at <http://www.dior.whs.mmid/casualty/OIF-Deaths-Before.pdf> for the casualties before the capture of Baghdad while the casualty figures for the US military deaths that have occurred in Iraq after the capture of Baghdad, please refer to the DIOR webpage at <http://www.dior.whs.mmid/casualty/OIF-Deaths-After.pdf>.

⁴The unknown column indicates those dead US military personnel for whom the author could not determine which service they belonged to.

⁵The two stages of operations i.e. 'Before' and 'After' are with reference to the Fall of Baghdad city.

⁶While there is no doubt that hostilities were initiated this time also by the air assets but their major objective was to bring about the fall of the Saddam Government and impede its effective functioning rather than making attempts to soften the Iraqi ground resistance.

⁷Map downloaded from <http://lunaville.org/wc/USgraph.aspx>

⁸This data is correct up to 5 February, 2004.

⁹The two stages of operations i.e. 'Before' and 'After' are with reference to the Fall of Baghdad city that occurred on April 9, 2003.

¹⁰The two stages of operations i.e. 'Before' and 'After' are with reference to the fall of Baghdad city i.e. before and after 9 April, 2003.

¹¹Letter to the Editor titled 'Wrong War' written by Dan Alfaro dated 05 January 2004 that is accessible on the Corpus Christi Caller Times website at http://www.caller.com/ccct/letters_to_the_editor/article/0,1641,CCCT_841_25986_07,00.html

¹²Non-hostile incidents are essentially vehicular, equipment related or weapons related accidents and also include the deaths that have been caused by fratricide or friendly firing etc.

¹³This data has been collected from a variety of websites on the internet. I have purposely included the causes of 'non-hostile gun shot wound', 'non-combat weapons discharge', 'accidental discharge of firearm by fellow soldier' and 'grenade attack by fellow soldier' amongst fratricides since I could not find a better explanation for these incidents.

¹⁴Most of the data included in this article has been downloaded from the DIOR website at <http://www.dior.whs.mil/mmmd/casualty/OEFDEATHS.pdf>

¹⁵Please refer to Figure 12 and the text following it for a more detailed analysis of the non-hostile factors that led to the deaths of the US military personnel during OEF.

¹⁶During operation in Iraq, as many as 51.6% of the total US military personnel who died or were killed were below 25 years of age.

¹⁷Although the data on the US military casualties in Iraq from various sources indicates the total number of personnel killed so far to be 542, the maximum figure that an official US Government source is confirming is 530.

¹⁸The casualty figures in this column relate to the period till the fall of Baghdad city to the Coalition forces i.e. 9 April, 2003.

¹⁹While the commencement of OIF has been taken to be February 2003, the data till 05 February 2004 has been included so as to

complete a period of one year. As regards OEF, the data has been taken from 7 October, 2001 onwards. In the data depicted for OIF operations prior to the fall of Baghdad, a cut-off date of 9 April 2003 has been taken for the fall of Baghdad city.

²⁰Although my calculations indicate the total deaths to be 542, I have stuck with the figure displayed on the official US Government site since it provides a detailed breakdown of the Service that the US military personnel who were killed belonged to.

²¹This data is correct up to 5 February, 2004.

²²Although my calculations indicate the total deaths to be 542, I have stuck with the figure displayed on the official US Government site since it provides a detailed breakdown of the Service that the US military personnel who were killed belonged to.

²³<http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/almanac>. According to data dated 9 May 2000, Blacks or African Americans constitute 20.1% of the US military, Hispanics or Latin Americans 7.9% and other races 6.3%. This works out to the minorities forming 34.4% of the total active service US military.

²⁴Readers might discern a difference in the age bracket categorization for the OIF and OEF data. This is because I calculated the data for the OIF myself while the data for the

OEF operations has come from an official US Government site

²⁵Although my calculations indicate the total deaths to be 542, I have stuck with the figure displayed on the official US Government site since it provides a detailed breakdown of the individual rank and status of the US military personnel who were killed.

²⁶Although my calculations indicate the total deaths to be 542, I have stuck with the figure displayed on the official US Government site since it provides a detailed breakdown of the individual rank and status of the US military personnel who were killed.

²⁷<http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/almanac>

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²⁹Letter to the Editor titled 'Wrong War' written by Dan Alfaro that is accessible on the Corpus Christi Caller Times website. This letter can be accessed and read by the readers on the internet at http://www.caller.com/ccct/letters_to_the_editor/article/0,1641,CCCT_841_2598607,00.html

³⁰The data in this chart can be accessed at <http://dior.whs.mil/mmmd/casualty/OIF-Total.pdf>

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Air Commodore Tariq Mahmud Ashraf was commissioned in the flying branch of the PAF in 1975. During his eventful career spanning over three decades, the officer has flown almost all the fighter aircraft in the PAF inventory. He has had the distinction of commanding an elite F-16 Squadron, a Tactical Flying Wing and an operational Base. He is a distinguished graduate of the RAF Advanced Staff Course, the PAF's Combat Commanders Course and the Pakistan National Defence Course. His key staff appointments include three tenures in the Operations Branch at Air Headquarters including a stint as the Assistant Chief of Air Staff (Operations). Widely travelled, the officer was also the Pakistan Defence Attaché to Indonesia, Australia, Singapore and South Korea from 1995 to 1998. He is currently serving on the faculty of the prestigious Pakistan National Defence College. For his meritorious services, the officer has been awarded the Sitara-i-Imtiaz (Military), the Sitara-i-Basalat and the Tamgha-i-Imtiaz (Military) by the Government of Pakistan. Comments on his articles are welcome and may be addressed to him at tmashraf@yahoo.com.

Balancing humanity against numbers

Publisher and Chief Editor **IKRAM SEHGAL**
wrote these articles for **THE NATION** which we
are reproducing with thanks.



Budget-making is an exercise that must remain the domain of human beings rather than that of computers. Given that statistical

data of revenues collected and projected spending thereof have to be made coherent into an annual plan, budgets must facilitate the living in coping with the basic necessities of a comfortable and dignified existence rather than making the rich richer. Unfortunately we live by a philosophy of "reverse swing", the common man's common needs have no priority, the priority of gift-of-the-gab being to favourably impress whoever is the primary ruler of the country, then satisfy the World Bank, IMF, Asian Development Bank (ADB) and not the least the wealthy and influential elite, in that order. Statistics brush aside the needs of the masses, the buzz-word being "trickle-down" economics and a treasury bulging with foreign exchange reserves. As long as macro-economic indicators are favourable, micro-economics can play catch-up! The Indian masses recently gave BJP's "India Shining" electoral plank a stinging rebuke, could this be an early warning signal for our rulers who depend too much for the country's

Budget-making on computers impersonating as humans?

Look at what India's new Harvard-educated Finance Minister Chidambaram is inheriting from the BJP, viz (1) an extremely high economic growth at 10.4% with GDP growing at 8% (2) overflowing foreign exchange reserves (in excess of US\$ 100 billion) and (3) consumer spending on a roll. On a smaller scale, Pakistan compares relatively favourably on a pro-rata basis. With such favourable economic indicators any political party in the developed world would have been a shoo-in at electoral time, the "ignorant and ungrateful" Indians reacted adversely because these benefits were visible to only a third of the population. Adverse factors posing problems for the new incumbent, viz (1) the financial market is presently volatile because in the face of "Left Front" partners of Congress and an anticipated roll-back of economic reforms (2) growing unemployment despite considerable foreign direct investment (FDI) (3) deteriorating fiscal deficit and (4) rising world fuel prices. All well and good but can Mr Chidambaram balance high trajectory of growth with visible socio-economic initiatives to assuage the aspirations of the masses for basic needs, and if,



Shaukat Aziz

when and where these are available, at affordable prices? This is true more or less the dilemma for Shaukat Aziz in preparing Pakistan's budget.

Pakistan's major problem is unemployment followed closely by a host of socio-economic necessities. By now we should disabuse ourselves of the possibility of foreign direct investment (FDI) arriving in droves to create more job opportunities, money is only attracted if more money can be made. To create a conducive environment for FDI we must maximize internal investment to invigorate our domestic economy, only possible by cutting bureaucratic red tape and controlling prices of essentials and giving incentives for increased production and lowered prices, particularly electricity. Local entrepreneurs need encouragement by a broad range of incentives. "Manufacturing sector" is certainly looking up, i.e. being revived, it must get priority remembering that

all booming economies depend upon "services" as a force-multiplier. Job creation being relatively inexpensive in comparison, most jobs are being created in the "services" sector. In a dog-in-the-manger policy, the financial gnomes inhabiting Islamabad are putting more and more taxes on the "services" sector. The unrestricted growth in the private security companies created 35000 – 40000 "khaki collar" new jobs annually for a decade till viz (1) the promulgation of the ordinance governing private security companies (the idea of exercising some control is sound, unfortunately the implementation thereof gives opportunity to the bureaucracy for licence and that is not a pun) and (2) heavy taxation deduction at source with retrospective effect is counter-productive to growth. With an 45000 – 50000 servicemen retiring at an average age of 45 years annually, how many will find gainful employment in sectors other than private security? And what will this trained manpower do without money to put food on the table for their families? IT, telecommunication and media have done substantial job creation in the urban areas for white collar workers, compared to the negligible number of new jobs in the primarily agricultural rural area.

Basic necessities are a must at affordable prices. While people do want TV sets and fridges in their homes, ask the 30-35% of the population who would be happy if they could only get food and potable water and a usable shelter? What use is electricity and gas if the people cannot afford to pay for them? WAPDA and KESC must privatize "distribution" and "bill collections", at the moment the easy way is to burden the consumer with more and more tariffs. This has a snowball effect down the line for the commercial consumer viz (1) it raises the

cost of production for "manufactures" (2) thereby reducing sales revenues (3) thereby putting pressure on "manufacturing" profit. As for the domestic consumers viz (1) it diverts funds from other uses (2) thereby pressuring the family budget for education, health, consumer goods, etc. As a dampener on the economy, its effect is force-multiplied many times over. The masses need "atta" at the very least but if wheat and atta are going to be smuggled to Afghanistan we are at the mercy of hoarders and black-marketeters not to mention the bitterness between the Provinces, particularly against the Punjab, if wheat/atta movement is restricted. While retaining a portion of our storage capacity for strategic needs, the government would do well to bring in the private sector to manage the wheat storage capacity, presently available in abundance but managed inefficiently. Additional storage SILOS on BOT basis was, a money-making scam that almost passed the ECC until an honest official stood up and got counted (and probably put paid to further career advancement). If there is excess money around, let us target the poor, forgotten farmer, as an agri-based economy we need to maximize the returns with investments in the agriculture sector, presently given lip-service only.

Separate allocations in form of aid and grants for "Poverty Alleviation" is not only an exercise in futility but a matter of shame to have a special fund for poverty-alleviation programmes for the 30-35% of the population below the poverty line, and 30-35% (of the severely affected middle class) on a fail-safe line that could go either way. The budget has to be crafted in such a way that it inherently meant to uplift the common man. Why not allocate "Wealth Accumulation Restriction Fund" to

adequately fund NAB to catch those who have bilked the country of billions by illegal means, not only will we recover looted money but it will act as a deterrent against the callous and the corrupt because of whom the country (and the masses) are in the sorry state they are in. Third World countries tend to lurch from extreme to extreme, Pakistan is no exception. After nationalizing everything in sight in the early 70s, we have been trying to privatize everything in sight in the 90s, assiduously adhering to the self-destructive maxim, "privatize profits, nationalize losses". We must not let go the controls of national security-sensitive enterprises like PTCL, PSO etc. Privatize them certainly but offload volumes in small lots in the local stock markets like Dr Hafeez Shaikh successfully did for OGDC and is now doing for PIA in sharing the national wealth evenly, making partners and shareholders out of the masses! The search for a "strategic investor" is an incorrect strategy except in some cases, these investors only use Pakistani expertise to repatriate profits from enterprises that were essentially always profitable but were run into the ground by inefficiency, bad management and outright corruption.

Budget making must concentrate on maximizing the output of the farm sector by judicious incentives to the farmers, with incentives to both the manufacturing and services sector to maintain growth at or above 15% per annum, with inflation kept under tight control. The budget must be people-oriented, not a PR exercise in personal image-making. The time for stabilizing the economy is over, promising relief and no extra burden is not enough. We will soon know if Shaukat Aziz, who is a pragmatist and despite his banker label has always been a politician, has indeed transformed himself into populist economist rather than simply being a deposit-taker. ♦

Simply re-hashing numbers and state-of-the-art presentations will not break the poverty logjam in the country. The President must not be carried away by gift of the gab, now that he is getting a direct feedback from Parliamentarians by sitting in the National Assembly on a day to day basis he must come to grips with a ground reality, that "trickle-down" economics is not trickling down to the masses.

Crunching Humans with Numbers

The business community says (i.e. if you discount the CVT misstep which led to stock brokers going on a ram-page breaking things) the Federal Budget is a good investor-friendly initiative. Nothing innovative about it, mostly an adjustment of statistics giving to each audience what that particular audience wants to hear, viz (1) a populist commitment to the masses for alleviating their miseries and (2) for the benefit of the world at large and (particularly) international aid agencies, maintaining a high economic growth rate by not splurging on the social sector. Good in macro-economics there is no perceptible change for the better in the "misery index" (micro-economics) of the masses despite the Finance Minister's (FM's) insistence that the population below the poverty line has reduced by 4.2% overall, the common man's buying power continues to be eroded by the rise in the price of essentials. The data from which the 4.2% poverty reduction figure was arrived at is a matter of doubt and controversy.

Controlling of inflation below double digits sounds wonderful on prime-time TV, for the middle class and the poor it is mere rhetoric. Reducing the duty on edible oil by a grand 0.5%, the GST on it was raised by 15%. Ghee will cost more, one guess who uses ghee more? The average food bill has gone up about 16%, further diminishing the consumer buying power of the common citizen, though the cumulative effect of lowering of consumer sales may not effect the economy given the incentives made available for the "upwardly mobile". Pakistan's Budget reflects somewhat the mood generated by "India Shining", the rich and the upper middle class are better off (Pakistan Shining), the overwhelming mass of the middle class and the poverty-stricken are in far worse condition than they were ever before. Our financial planners are crunching hapless human beings who make up 70-75% of the population by crunching numbers without catering for the needs of humanity. Far from liberaliz-

ing the financial regime to reflect 21st century reality, the regulators who have been given much more authority than ever before to take arbitrary, punitive action against taxpayers. Sales Tax collectors can now arrest anyone, guess who is going to earn more money? The Budget document has bureaucracy written all over it, has Shaukat had really gone into details of what his aides and subordinates managed to slip into his excellent above par presentation in the National Assembly? One likes to think he is a populist at heart even though the govt has largely avoided populist measures!

There is a definite fiscal policy shift from the targeting of stability to focus on growth and investment, the measures proposed are meant to reduce the cost of doing business, encourage fixed investment, promote exports and build crumbling infra-structures. The levy of tax on share purchases has already unsettled the Stock Exchanges, the stockbrokers' rampage made share prices fall

almost 200 points, giving a paper loss of Rs 500 million to the market. This strong negative response may make the government lower the tax rate, on that premise the market regained some ground. Two years extension in capital gains is positive for the market. Expectations about the cement sector have remained unfulfilled, cement prices will go up putting pressure on the housing sector. Negative implications for some other areas is very likely to depress the market already weakened by increased flow of negative political news, rising inflation, increasing number of terrorism cases as well as enhanced interest rates. The economic targets are ambitious, medium term (Financial Year 2007) targets of 8% GDP growth, 20% investment to GDP ratio, holding inflation to 5%, 3% fiscal deficit 1.8% current deficit and Foreign Exchange Reserves at minimum 28 weeks of imports. The momentum of higher GDP growth is promised to be maintained through increased spending and tax incentives. Radical liberalization of import regime for investment, simplification of GST system, reduction in power tariff and increase in PSDP are major fiscal measures. Consumer, textiles, Fertilizer, Chemicals and Packaging are meant to be the major beneficiaries of the budget. Banking and Telecom sector stand to draw some benefits. Autos shall be very adversely hit due to the large cut in duties on CBUs in the face of no reduction offered on CKDs. The automobile owners will not reduce their prices, they will continue to get commission on imported cars and employees of automobile manufacturers and vendors will be laid off the Japanese will adjust the price upwards. Restructuring of National Savings into "Pakistan Savings" with possibly higher returns is very likely to slowdown the flow of funds into the stock market.

In an over-populated country with a need for wide range of labour-intensive services there is almost nothing for the Services Sector, widely acknowledged by modern economists to be the engine of growth. When will they ever learn from the available models of Hong Kong, Singapore and Dubai, etc? However, there are some very positive proposals, viz (1) profit that is paid on housing loan given by a statutory body or a public limited company is also eligible for tax credit (2) minimum threshold of last declared or assessed income of Rs 500,000 is being introduced for filing wealth-tax statement (3) minimum threshold for withholding tax from rent has been enhanced to Rs 300,000 (4) basic exemption limit for individuals and associates of person is increased from Rs 80,000 to Rs 100,000 (5) profit on debt from Certificates of Investment issued by investment banks have been exempted (6) income of vocational institutes, technical institutes or a poly-technical institutes are exempted from tax for 5 years and (7) senior citizens are allowed reduction in tax if maximum income is below Rs 300,000 (8) Behbood Savings Certificate or accounts are tax exempted.

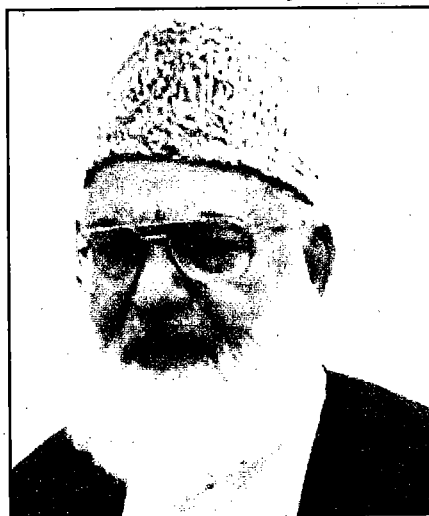
Two widely differing examples of why a good budget becomes a heartless one if conceived by bureaucrats (i.e. those who think they will never retire or fade away), viz (1) addressing the plight of old pensioners giving 16% increase in pensions of those who retired before 1994 and 8% for those post 1994. A general officer retiring before 1994 gets a pension of Rs 9000, the 16% increase gives him an additional Rs 1440 making his pension Rs 10440. A captain who retired recently gets a pension of Rs 11000, the 8% increase will get him Rs 880, making his pension Rs 11880, still Rs 1440 more than that of general who had retired earlier. So what are we saying, a captain of today is relatively worth more to the nation than a general officer of yesterday? There should be one pension for one rank, there should

be no discrimination! This will happen today or tomorrow, either Gen Musharraf and/or Zafarullah Khan Jamali will correct this injustice or someone in the future will. Why not now? And on the subject of Pay & Pensions Commission, the Chairman should be from the superior judiciary, the other members should be equally divided between the private and public sector (3) some banks have recently issued circulars that unless the person is a Govt/Semi Govt employee Rs 50 will be deducted every month if his account has balance of less than Rs 10000 (Rs 5000 for females). Where will the poor salaried employees go for depositing their cheques? The message is clear, if you are earning (and living on) less than Rs 5000 pm, take a hike and don't darken the doorstep of the bank. Discriminating against almost the entire majority of the salaried class living below the poverty line the banking system caters only to the rich and the upper middle class. Another negative point in the Federal Budget, viz Withholding Tax rates remain unchanged except on amount of raffle/lottery winning and cross-word puzzle or prize on winning a quiz offered by companies for promotion of sales. This will directly affect the common man who is greatly involved in such activities.

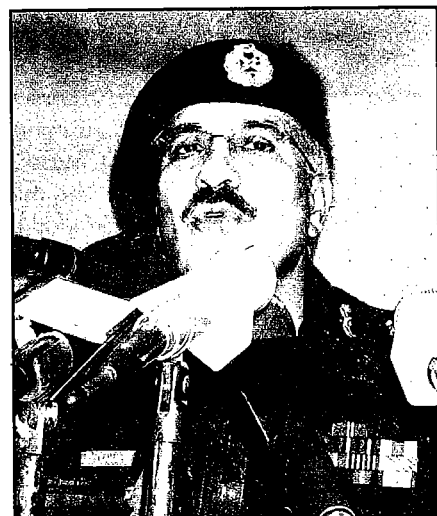
Simply re-hashing numbers and state-of-the-art presentations will not break the poverty logjam in the country. The President must not be carried away by gift of the gab, now that he is getting a direct feedback from Parliamentarians by sitting in the National Assembly on a day to day basis he must come to grips with a ground reality, that "trickle-down" economics is not trickling down to the masses. Only a whole-sole renovation of the philosophy of budgeting and a revised budgetary strategy thereof will change things for the poor and downtrodden, and those that are joining their ranks in increasing numbers on a daily basis. ♦



Governor Ishrat ul Ebad



Qazi Hussain Ahmed



IG Police Syed Kamal Shah

Securing Karachi

There are signs that our rulers have started the process of making necessary adjustments in political compromises to secure this city from boiling over into disaster. Karachi's civic services are normally stretched to the limit, if they are overwhelmed because of civil disturbances disrupting services, mass reaction will make society as we know disappear into a cauldron, not unlike that to which Mogadishu has descended. Ethnic and sectarian clashes are already not a matter of conjecture anymore, sporadic clashes have already taken place. Terrorists have cleverly manipulated the city's schisms to their advantage. Immediate remedial measures are necessary to restore the rule of law to this great metropolitan city.

Power centres proliferate in Sindh, viz (1) Governor's House run by the MQM nominee Dr Ishrat ul Ebad and the perennial Advisor to all Governors, Brig (Retd) Akhtar Zamin Naqvi, presently enjoying maximum power in Karachi, and by extension over the Province, acting virtually as the Chief

Minister (CM) in place of (2) CM Ali Mohammad Maher who exercises power only as much as is his inherent ability and/or is allowed to him by the powers-that-be (3) Karachi city's government is run presently by the Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) through the City Nazim Naimatullah (4) the present Corps Commander 5 Corps Lt Gen Ahsan Salim Hayat exercises quiet influence (as he should) in contrast to the political wheeling-dealing of his predecessor, Tariq Waseem Ghazi and last but not the least (5) power brokers exercising remote control from Islamabad, but overlapping from their own disciplines at will into sectors of their motivated interest. As an example of how usurping/encroachment of power affects situation adversely, the recent by-elections would have been won by the MQM anyway, the Honourable Governor's ham-handed intervention resulted in blatant over-kill and the electoral results becoming controversial.

When the MQM chose not to take part in the Local Bodies elections three

years ago, they left the field open for the JI, PPP and even PML to make a comeback in the political vacuum. Grabbing opportunity with both hands, JI has done a commendable job running the city's administration, thus eating into MQM's once-monolithic presence. Running a party by remote control may be a virtuoso performance of MQM's mercurial leader in self-imposed exile Altaf Hussain, it cannot go on forever. There are leadership problems at the local level within MQM needing the Supremo's attention, or better still, presence. With MQM in a certain amount of disarray, JI being the biggest beneficiary is not going to easily loosen its present control over the city. Case in point, the largely successful strike called by the MMA on Friday. With Governor's House at loggerheads with the City Nazim and the Chief Minister virtually powerless, the situation is tailor-made for intervention by those who wish ill for Karachi and Pakistan. The Intelligence Bureau's (IB) primary function is to provide intelligence on internal security,

because of the military's involvement in civil government since 1999, the ISI and MI have also become involved in this, since 9/11 both have been focussing on countering terrorism also. IB's finest hour was during Maj (Retd) Masood Sharif's tenures as DG when the militancy within Karachi was decimated by superb information gathering, only made possible because IB operatives risked life and limb to penetrate militants' cells. While the US must be giving hi-tech support to local human intelligence (hum-int) to ferret out Al-Qaeda or Al-Qaeda's associates, hum-int can never be replaced by electronic intelligence (el-int), case in point the lack of credible guerilla/terrorist information in Afghanistan and Iraq. Hi-tech can kick the door open, you need boots on the ground to walk through that door. Collection of information may be satisfactory, collation of that information and disseminating it speedily to the right quarters seems to be the problem.

Does all this call for Governor's rule? Certainly not, that would derail the nascent democracy whose existence is already precarious in Pakistan. By the same token we cannot sack the city government, that would be a negation of the devolution of powers that we have been nurturing all along. Requiring the electorate to exercise their preference would be an ideal route to follow, in the present state of acute polarization created by political, ethnic and sectarian tensions it would be suicidal for the Federation on the other hand, the political leaders must be free to play their political role among the masses to preserve the peace. It stands to reason that a political government should remain in power.

Karachi is bigger than more than 100 nations in the world, Sindh Province is bigger than 150. Putting an ineffective frontman in Sindh into a position of authority over the lives of 30 million human beings and/or ruling by proxy even with all political and economic conditions conducive is like playing Russian Roulette Pakistani-style (five

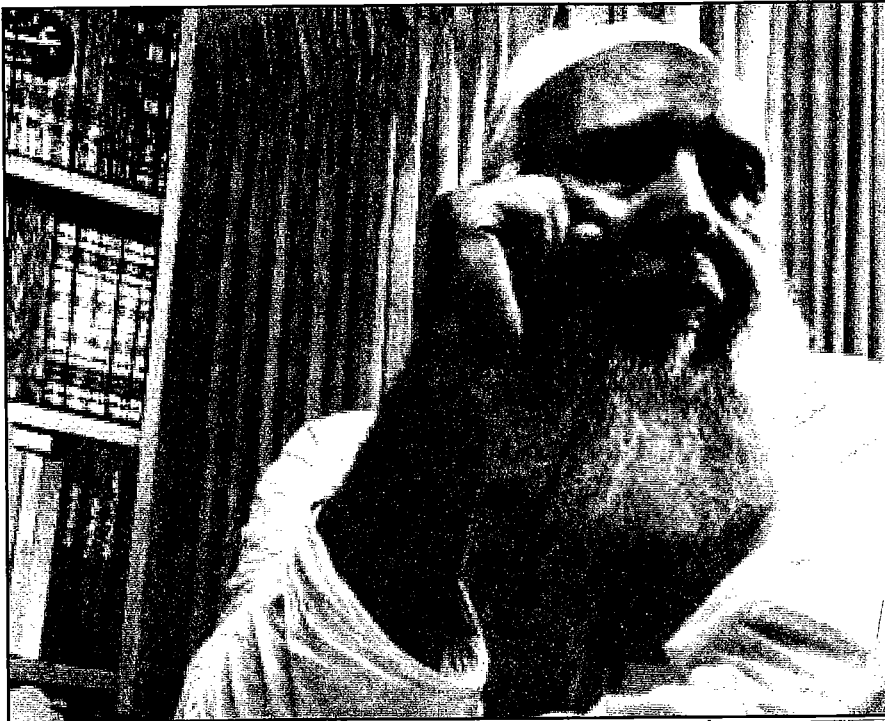
rounds in the chambers in place of one), a gamble that is outright dangerous. Almost anybody can replace Ali Mohammad Maher, the obvious preference should be to give legitimacy to democracy by giving the reins of the Provincial Government to the majority party, Ms Benazir's PPP. Ch Shujaat Hussain initiated the right dialogue by meeting Makhdoom Amin Fahim of PPP and Qazi Hussain Ahmed of JI in the NA recently to offer a government of consensus in the Province. PPP's strong opposition to the President may not be palatable to Islamabad, the courageous decision to act politically (not possible without Musharraf's clearance) is a correct example of preferring the national interest over personal feelings. The PPP could cobble together a coalition with MQM, a government of consensus along with PML And JI as suggested by Ch Shujaat Hussain to ensure stability in Karachi. PPP's refusal should have been anticipated, at least it clears the deck for the present PML-led coalition to have either Imtiaz Shaikh or Arbab Ghulam Rahim as the CM. Despite the "Jam Sadiq Ali" baggage (and who doesn't carry baggage among the Parliamentarians in Sindh) one would be inclined to support Imtiaz Shaikh over Arbab Ghulam Rahim. Sindh needs a strong hand who knows the provincial ropes, having learnt his Sindh politics from the late Jam Sadiq Ali and having served as a senior bureaucrat in the Provincial Government, Imtiaz Shaikh has the experience and ability to do the job.

If the PPP had led the coalition, another appointee of the Federal Government as Governor would have been necessary, Ebad's domination of security affairs because of the CM's non-involvement has made justice in Karachi become partisan to party politics. Governor Ishrat ul Ebad must confine himself strictly within his constitutional parameters. Instead of imposing emergency or Governor's rule, the need is to have a non-partisan Deputy or Lieutenant Governor answerable

directly to the President and PM for the Province's security. As far back as Feb 27, 1990 in "The Sindh Factor-III", on Mar 6, 1990 in "De-Beirutizing Karachi", on Aug 2, 1994 in "Resuscitating a City, Let no one write Karachi's epitaph" and on Dec 15, 1994 in "Apocalypse Now", I have repeatedly suggested the need for a Lieutenant Governor for Sindh, specifically looking after the security of the Province, this is long overdue. All the law enforcement agencies (LEAs) in the Province and the city, including Rangers, Police other para military forces, and their constituent intelligence units should directly report to him. The Lieutenant Governor should have the power to call on the Armed Forces in "Aid of Civil Power" whenever necessary. It would be best to appoint a serving three-star general, preferably someone who has already done his Corps tenure. Having combat experience i.e. hearing shots being fired in anger would be useful, tough but less bloodthirsty. Conversely we could also go with a senior police officer, the present IG Police Syed Kamal Shah would be a good choice, Shoaib Suddle is another potential candidate. The Lieutenant Governor could use a portion of the Governor's House as a symbol of his authority, working through a Crisis Management Centre (CMC) from where he can act to interdict/intercept events before they happen by acting on the collated intelligence swiftly in real-time, and if they happen, to react positively to contain collateral damage. A good commander and a good command structure will ensure that Karachi becomes too hot for terrorists to operate in. Terrorists must be fought by a single authority with absolute power to act independently but with all the resources of the State available to that entity, the cover of a political government is necessary to explain the need for draconian measures to the masses, as was done by the PPP in 1994-95. That is the only way to secure Karachi from sliding into anarchy. ♦

Slide into Anarchy

In the early 1990s, Karachi (and by extension Sindh) had a severe law and order problem. The situation was so bad that the army was commissioned to launch "search operations" in the city to ferret out militants, simultaneously the Special Services Group (SSG) was deputed to work with the police and the Citizen Police Liaison Committee (CPLC) to break the back of kidnapper gangs that were targetting the wealthy elite of the city for ransom.



Mufti Shamzai

What a week, a low intensity explosion went off near a KPT gate followed next day by staggered explosions outside the PACC designed to inflict maximum casualties, rounded off within days by the assassination of Mufti Shamzai. The civil disturbances, including an attack on the Quaid Academy, to protest this horrible murder had not

died down when a bomb went off in an Imam Bargah in the evening of May 31 off Karachi's main arterial M A Jinnah Road, killing 18 and wounding countless others and setting off another chain reaction of violence in Karachi. The present spate of terrorism had started a fortnight or so earlier with the horrific suicide bombing in the Shia mosque

in the Quaid's Alma Mater Sindh Madrassatul Islam. Given the paralysis of government in Sindh, someone somewhere is playing a deadly game with Karachi's future, we are rapidly sliding into anarchy. It goes without saying that this will seriously affect the country's economy.

In the early 1990s, Karachi (and by extension Sindh) had a severe law and order problem. The situation was so bad that the army was commissioned to launch "search operations" in the city to ferret out militants, simultaneously the Special Services Group (SSG) was deputed to work with the police and the Citizen Police Liaison Committee (CPLC) to break the back of kidnapper gangs that were targetting the wealthy elite of the city for ransom. While the kidnappers were effectively decimated, the Army had only moderate success in eliminating militants. The untimely death of Gen Asif Nawaz Janjua saw the new COAS, Gen Abdul Waheed, extricate the Army from the morass of "aid to civil power" and hand responsibility for law and order back to political authority. In power in the Federation and in Sindh, Ms Benazir gave a clear mandate to the Federal Interior Minister, Maj Gen Naseerullah Khan Babar, rid the

problem of urban militancy in Karachi and Hyderabad so that governance (in some form) could be applied in the Province.

One has no hesitation in saying that this was Ms Benazir's finest hour. Gen Babar has always been a no-nonsense person, even if one may differ with him on issues, his logic is never tainted by personal motives. Gen Babar was fortunate on two counts, as the Rangers boss he got Maj Gen (later Lt Gen) Muhammad Akram, a dedicated die-hard professional soldier, as boss of the Intelligence Bureau (IB) Maj (Retd) Masood Sharif was a most fortuitous choice. With good on-time operational intelligence provided by IB, the Rangers and Police proceeded to eradicate militancy from Karachi. This nation owes a lasting debt of gratitude to Babar, Akram and Masood Sharif for saving Karachi from becoming another Beirut, the effect of this surgical cleansing lasted almost a decade.

The Province of Sindh is today without any government, Chief Minister represent only the trappings of it, whether this is by deliberate choice one doesn't know. Karachi's city government headed by Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) is virtually powerless because of political polarization between the JI and Karachi's main political party, the MQM. The result is that we have both a Province and a city where being either non-existent, infrequent and/or erratic, governance has become an endangered species. The result is a near anarchy situation in the interior of Sindh and in Karachi, rapidly sliding into one. The government cannot be blamed per se for rampant terrorism, that is a world-wide phenomenon and not a regional one. Yet because Al-Qaeda was epi-centred in Afghanistan and came about as a direct result of the Afghan War of the 80s, the primary conduit being

the port city of Karachi, it will take time and dedicated effort to rid the city of this menace. The police are certainly trying, without effective intelligence they are mostly groping in the dark, only infrequently penetrating the terrorist cells. The root causes of failure of law and order may be economic disparity and social injustice, the immediate reason is the failure of coordinated intelligence. This can only be delivered by professionals, not gasbags posing as security experts! To quote a senior foreign diplomat from my article entitled "ANOTHER OUTRAGE" published in THE NATION on March 23, 2002, "I don't trust

2002, it was their right. Having negated this principle for a hotch-potch coalition with the urban-based MQM as the major partner, power has been so defused that it is impossible to nail down the centre of power. Even when the coalition led by Ali Mohammad Maher as Chief Minister took power in the Province in a democratic façade, Commander 5 Corps Lt Gen Waseem Mohammad Ghazi retained absolute authority. When Ghazi departed unlamented to the NDC early this year, power passed into the hands of the MQM-nominated Governor Ishrat-ul-Ibad and his all-weather Advisor Brig (Retd)

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my security to my drinking buddies!". The success of the law enforcement agencies (LEAs) in 1994-95 was not capitalized upon by Ms Benazir's government, lack of sustained governance at the Provincial level led to failure of instituting political (and economic) initiatives to mitigate ethnic and sectarian polarization. Sindh (or any other Province) cannot be run by remote control from Islamabad, for good governance Provinces must be self-governing.

Democratic principles mandated that the majority party in Sindh, the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) should have formed the government in late

Akhtar Zamin Naqvi, for them Ali Mohammad Maher was a suitable figurehead as a Chief Minister, duly kept in line with any number of his own cabinet ministers openly vying for his job. Maher's rule (or the lack of it) has successfully undone all achievements of Governor's rule from 1999 to 2002, particularly the balancing of Sindh's finances and gradual stability in the law and order situation. An uncertain economic barometer in Pakistan, the stock market nevertheless recognizes dangerous portents, the deteriorating situation will soon start to erode the economy. If the city reverts to frequent closedowns

because of political or crime-related trouble, the city's economy (and with that the country's) will certainly crash. Are we prepared for economic apocalypse now?

Is the President reading the overall internal situation correctly? Other than the gloom-and-doom scenario in Karachi and interior Sindh we have problems on the Pak-Afghan border and peripheral areas, the WANA situation being the most dangerous. One had to expect some reaction through proxies and unrelated targets in the urban areas to divert the attention of the Federal Government. With regular attacks on Sui gas installations and terrorist attacks in Quetta, the situation is not too good in Balochistan either. While externally we are on a favourable course given the improving peace with India scenario, the assassination attacks on the President have been too close for comfort. The President cannot keep on running the situation by remote control twice-removed, ambiguity in authority breeds insecurity. He must do what he does best, take charge of the situation, or conversely allow his Prime Minister to do so. The options for Sindh are viz (1) have a new effective CM from the existing coalition (2) hand power over to a PPP-led coalition or (3) impose Governor's rule, with an ethnic Sindhi as Governor, and with adequate powers, not a puppet on a string. There is an increasing public perception that Gen Musharraf is becoming too dependant upon the likes of Ch Shujaat Hussain for his future political longevity, this is mind-boggling. Ch Shujaat Hussain may be a good politician but there are scores like him, even in their hometown of Gujrat Chaudhrys are confined to one and a half constituencies, the others belong to PPP's Ch Mukhtar and Aitzaz Ahsan. It is Ch Shujaat Hussain who is where he is because

of Gen Pervez Musharraf, not the other way around. The President owes the Chaudhry nothing. In fact the association with the Chaudhrys has cost the Pervez Musharraf considerable credibility. Were he to drop them as the political hot potatoes they are today, they would not be news (except for negative National Accountability reasons) past the coming week. One respects Mushahid Hussain's intellect and ability but putting him as the Secretary General of the PML was fitting a square peg in a round hole, signalling to all and sundry that a Presidential system with a techno-

Finance and Shaukat Aziz in Foreign Affairs so that they can do for the country what they can do best. I want Pervez Musharraf to succeed as almost every thinking person without motivation in Pakistan does, yet one is disturbed by an extremely frustrating thought, does the President hold loyalty to self above the national interest, if not what prevents him from jettisoning his obvious liabilities? The President must act while he can, the Autumn of 2004 will be far different from the Autumn of 1999, when he was master of all that he surveyed, decision-making will

The President must act while he can, the Autumn of 2004 will be far different from the Autumn of 1999, when he was master of all that he surveyed, decision-making will gradually become increasingly complicated, convoluted and subject to cynosure. He must not let the initiative he still enjoys because of his stature and personality become synonymous with the Chaudhry-types and their mentors.

cratic government is in the offing. Will this be acceptable to the people of Pakistan? In 1999 yes, in 2004 certainly not! While it is in the nature of Pervez Musharraf to look after those who have been loyal to him, his innate patriotism must dictate his future choices, the national interest taking precedence over mediocrity. He must get on with choosing the right people for the right slots.

To start with, let's get the Cabinet right. Instead of backroom stabbing, Zafarullah Khan Jamali needs to be shored up, the man has the ability if given a free hand. Put Dr Abdul Hafeez Shaikh in

gradually become increasingly complicated, convoluted and subject to cynosure. He must not let the initiative he still enjoys because of his stature and personality become synonymous with the Chaudhry-types and their mentors. He needs to cut his losses and institute damage-control. Pervez Musharraf has an inherent ability to turn things around, we need to see a demonstration of this power in shuffling his key subordinates, putting some out to pasture while putting the right people in places where they can perform for good. of country and Musharraf, preferably in that order. ♦

The prime requirement of today's war against terrorism is timely "actionable" intelligence. The accountability inherent in any democracy means that the US is doing something about it, public hearings by a bi-partisan blue-ribboned panel has exposed the in-built weaknesses of the entire US intelligence apparatus. While the creation of a new "Homeland Security" Department have resulted in extensive reforms of the entire intelligence system and the observations of the Commission have force-multiplied these reforms, this process may well take several years.

"Actionable" Intelligence

One of the things common about Pakistan and US has been brought to the surface by the 9/11 Commission, countries fighting the modern version of terrorism need to have far better quality of intelligence than available at present, this must be shared quickly and effectively with the units actually fighting on the ground. The prime requirement of today's war against terrorism is timely "actionable" intelligence. The accountability inherent in any democracy means that the US is doing something about it, public hearings by a bi-partisan blue-ribboned panel has exposed the in-built weaknesses of the entire US intelligence apparatus. While the creation of a new "Homeland Security" Department have resulted in extensive reforms of the entire intelligence system and the observations of the Commission have force-multiplied these reforms, this process may well take several years. The major finding of the Commission was that while there was a proliferation of sporadic intelligence reports, "actionable" intelligence was not available in real-time. Moreover the intelligence reports crucially lacked the

projected date, place and method of attack, the process of the jigsaw puzzle were spread over too many departments which were unwilling to share information due to inefficiency, ineptitude or simply inter-departmental jealousy.

One can gather intelligence on an enemy's capabilities in any number of ways, but determining the enemy's intentions is extremely difficult. This was made more difficult for the US when under the mandate given by US President Carter, CIA Boss Admiral Stansfield Turner virtually dismantled the "human intelligence" assets of the CIA in favour of electronic intelligence. To an extent the ISI suffered a similar fate in losing a whole lot of the field operatives once the first "Afghan cleansing" was done in 1993-94 in the wake of the US threatening to put Pakistan on the list of "terrorist nations". Penetrating an enemy organization to ascertain the enemy's capabilities and intention requires human intelligence ("humint"), electronic intelligence can kick open the door, you need boots on the ground to go through that door. Only "humint" can discover not only what the

enemy can do but what he plans to do, and find out the where and the when. The US has discovered this weakness at grievous cost, first in Afghanistan and then in Iraq. Contrary to universal perception, the ISI was virtually without any intelligence assets in Afghanistan pre and post 9/11. This has put tremendous pressure on the intelligence community to deliver "actionable" intelligence, leading to atrocities like Abu Ghraib. People generally assume that intelligence is like a jigsaw puzzle and it is not possible to act till the last piece of the puzzle is in place. It is an extremely dangerous assumption to equate "actionable intelligence" with "complete intelligence", the US has paid dearly for it through the 9/11 attacks.

Overhauling/re-organization will mean improved intelligence to cope with the new demands, requiring the recruiting and training of more agents who are capable of penetrating terrorist groups, having more analysts to interpret the information collected on a daily basis, and ensuring that the processed intelligence is immediately and completely shared

among those who need it on the frontline of the "war against terrorism". Some of this was seen to good effect in 1994-95 when the Intelligence Bureau (IB) under Maj (Retd) Masood Sharif penetrated the militants in Karachi to devastating effect. What is stopping the government from using his services again? During wartime, and we are at war, the country needs to use its best available talent and resources irrespective of political leaning and beliefs. Intelligence must be available to the leaders in quality more than quantity for quick decision-making, it being understood that absolutely perfect intelligence may not be attainable. Improved intelligence gathering, analysis and sharing thereof is even then unlikely to give the detailed picture required, the agencies will certainly have to perform far better than they have done till date.

The only time a terrorist attack can be prevented is in the planning stage, this could be over in a few days or even extend to several years. Once the planning is done a different group will be involved in carrying out the attack and it would be difficult to recognize the people because they may not be of the same group that did the planning. During the planning stage, there is need for terrorist managers for logistics management, to designate personnel, weapons and equipment, to acquire transportation and to conduct reconnaissance, and organize the move of men and material, to put in place escape routes, communications, manpower and equipment, etc and all this without attracting attention of the law enforcement agencies (LEAs). The intelligence apparatus of the State has to work overtime with a positive mindset to search out indicators and leads during this "vulnerable" period. It may seem personnel

are easy to hide, nothing is more difficult, the only period that the terrorists are really susceptible to interdiction is during the planning stage.

Recent incidents need to be enquired into and studied in some detail, viz (1) the two assassination attempts on the President in Rawalpindi (2) the murder of MMA notable Mufti Shamzai in Karachi (3) the attempted assassination of the Commander 5 Corps in Karachi and (4) the murder of PPP leader Munawar Suharwardi in Karachi. While the assassination attempts on the President was clearly Al-Qaeda, the Karachi incidents seemed to be crude attempts to put the blame on Al-Qaeda. If Al-Qaeda is sophisticated as they are advertised to be they would be stupid to attempt anything in Karachi, this happens to their primary conduit for logistics and at one time served (and maybe still serves) as a major base for their "safe houses". After any incident in Karachi, the law enforcement agencies (LEAs) invariably manage to discover one or two Al-Qaeda safe houses and some their operatives were killed/captured for the crimes of others. Why should they invite attention? It is true that Karachi has sectarian violence and has had its fair share of ethnic trouble, however, to jump to the Al-Qaeda conclusion every time is not correct. Certain militant religious organizations are engaged in "copycat" atrocities to attract notoriety, e.g. suicide bombings in the mosques. While there is no "smoking gun" evidence that Al-Qaeda are behind the incidents, one must not detract from the Al-Qaeda threat. Intelligence agencies must function with an open mind without pre-conceived notions, political hits will always attempt to shift blame to sectarian or Al-Qaeda violence to avoid feeling the heat of subsequent investigations.

The actual participants of the attempted hit on the Corps Commander have been rounded up, they must be squeezed for a wealth of information, the agencies have to shun Marquess of Queensbury rules, too many lives are at stake, too much is at stake for the city of Karachi. After all, the participants had to have motivation from someone and somewhere, a lot must have gone into planning and logistics. All these require funds, funds have to be transferred by some means. Every Police Station in the country has good information on people who live in their area, strangers moving into any locality excite immediate attention. The terrorists have to engage in some activity in pursuing their objectives, to show their heads above the "grass", how long will they lie low? Only by quickly bringing in specialist agencies that have the experience and expertise will this intelligence become "actionable", it then depends upon the agencies how well to exploit this "actionable intelligence" to ensure that terrorists do not go beyond the planning stage of their intended operations.

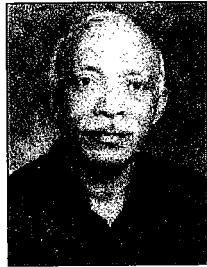
Analysts make their best estimates, the leaders must use these estimates for quick decision-making in the circumstances availing. Intelligence is an art not a science, not even an inexact one. Under adverse circumstances the making of sound decisions requires both courageous leadership and excellent judgment. The dictionary meaning of judgment is "arriving at a decision or conclusion on the basis of indications and probabilities when the facts are not clearly ascertained". One can only ensure that leaders take correct decision if the intelligence agencies make definite improvements in the quality of "actionable" intelligence. ♦

Security Analysis on the International, Regional and Domestic Fronts

(Combined effort of PATHFINDER GROUP Task Force)



GN Quadri



Aslam Quadri

Executive Summary of the Month

The findings of the **Commission** on Wednesday, June 16 that was investigating 9/11 revealed that it found no credible evidence that Iraq and al-Qaida "cooperated on attacks" against the USA. It was also said that al-Qaida tried to build a relationship, but there was no response from Iraq.

John Kerry immediately launched a broadside at President Bush accusing him of leading the nation to war on false pretences. The White House countered by saying the administration had never claimed a direct link between Saddam and 9/11.

Another assertion made by the administration for going to war was possession of weapons of mass destruction by Saddam but so far no WMDs have been uncovered.

The administration's claims of Saddam's links to al-Qaida began

as early as December 2001 when Dick Cheney pointed to a meeting between lead hijackers Mohammad Atta in Prague, Czech Republic and a senior Iraqi intelligence officer a few months prior to the 9/11 attacks. Unfortunately, the 9/11 panel's staff did not believe the meeting ever took place. Bush himself spoke of Saddam's al-Qaida connections as early as February 2003.

Kerry's allegations that the administration aimed to deceive do not necessarily hold true but it does prove that its justification for war was extremely flawed.

Even as the Commission's findings were publicized, President Bush insisted that Saddam Hussein had "connections" with al-Qaida and was a threat because he was a sworn enemy to the US. The president said that his administration had never said that the 9/11 attacks were orchestrated between Saddam and al-Qaida but that there were numerous contacts between the two.

On the other hand, the Commission stated very clearly that while al-Qaida attempted to build a relationship with Saddam there was no response from the Iraqi side.

How many civilian lives have been lost in Iraq so far? Various media accounts confirm **over**

5000 civilian deaths but the media is usually only concerned with deaths due to direct military action. On the other hand, the **Iraq Body Count Project (IBC)** (www.iraqbodycount.org) has compiled a comprehensive database of civilian and military casualties, injuries, etc that indicate the terrifying wages of this bloody war. IBC is a human security project to establish an independent and comprehensive public database of media-reported civilian deaths in Iraq resulting directly from military action by the USA and its allies in 2003. In the current occupation phase this database includes all deaths which the Occupying Authority has a binding responsibility to prevent under the Geneva Conventions and Hague Regulations. This includes civilian deaths resulting from the breakdown in law and order, and deaths due to inadequate health care or sanitation. Results and totals are continually updated and made immediately available on the website and on various IBC counters. Casualty figures are derived solely from a comprehensive survey of online media reports. All results are independently reviewed and error-checked by at least three members of the Iraq Body Count project team before publication.

The project takes as its starting point and builds upon the earlier work of Professor Marc Harold who has produced the most comprehensive tabulation of civilian deaths in the war on Afghanistan from October 2001 to the present, and the methodology has been designed in close consultation with him.

On March 20, 2003, US troops invaded Iraq. At least 17,644 people have been killed till May 27, 2004 of which more than 11000 are civilians. The following is the breakdown:

US Military fatalities:	806
US Military suicides:	31
Iraqi civilian fatalities:	11046
Iraqi Military fatalities:	5633
British fatalities:	59
Italian fatalities:	18
Spanish fatalities:	11
Bulgarian fatalities:	6
Ukrainian fatalities:	6
Polish fatalities:	4
Thai fatalities:	2
Fijian fatalities:	2
Danish fatalities:	1
Estonian fatalities:	1
Salvadoran fatalities:	1
Dutch fatalities:	1
Journalist fatalities:	16
More than 17000 killed and still counting.	

In recent weeks, **two important scientific polls of Iraqi opinion** have been published, and neither offered much solace for those who support "Staying the course". A Gallup poll conducted mostly in late March — before the recent sieges of Fallujah and Najaf — showed that "a solid majority support an immediate military pullout."

Fifty-seven percent said the coalition should "leave immediately" rather than "stay longer" (36 percent).

Among respondents in Shi'ite and Sunni Arab areas — that is, leaving out Kurdish respondents — the numbers favoring an immediate pullout were even higher: 61 percent to 30 percent among Shi'ites and 65 percent to 27 percent among Sunnis. In Baghdad, where U.S. forces are concentrated, the numbers were highest of all: 75 percent favored an immediate pullout, with only 21 percent opposed.

Overall, 55 percent of Shi'ites and 57 percent of Sunnis said attacks against coalition forces were

at least sometimes justified, while the proportion of Baghdadis who believe this has risen to 67 percent, up from 36 percent the last time Gallup asked them this question a year ago.

Meanwhile, according to a new poll from the Iraq Center for Research and Strategic Studies, which is partly funded by the State Department and has coordinated its work with the Coalition Provisional Authority, more than half of all Iraqis — including the Kurds — want an immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces, up from 17 percent last October. The same poll found that 68 percent of Iraqis support Moqtada al-Sadr, including a third who say they "strongly support" him (Financial Times, 5/20/04; Philadelphia Inquirer, 5/9/04).

The polls cited above are the only scientific measures of recent Iraqi opinion in existence. Yet despite these clear signs that Iraqis want U.S. troops out, some journalists have clung to hopes, unsupported by real evidence, that the bulk of

the population still quietly supports an American presence.

The **Arab League** summit conference ended with a whimper in Tunis on Sunday, May 23. Libyan President Muammar Qaddafi staged an angry walkout in protest against the agenda. Earlier Secretary General Amr Moussa had some harsh comments to say about Qaddafi. If anything, this meeting demonstrated yet again the disunity and rancour that exists amongst member states.

Not much was achieved at the meeting. Documents pledging for promoting democracy, empowering women, strengthening civil society, etc, etc were adopted with no real gusto or feelings, leaving these to be signed by their cabinets and parliaments. Analysts and Human Rights activists largely feel the Arab leaders have no intentions to carry out reforms. As a western diplomat put it, "Their attitude is 'Reform yes, but not on my watch'." It is the Arab League's own fault that such skepticism is aimed at it.

Other than that a number of resolutions were passed on Palestine and Iraq. Leaders announced their solidarity with Syria that is being pressurized by the US for harbouring 'weapons of mass destruction'.

It is sad that an organization that has the ability of doing good for the Muslim world remains engaged in internal turmoil. It has to rely on the west for initializing a process towards democratization, something that they should strive to develop themselves.

The new Prime Minister of Iraq, **Iyad Allawi** termed Sadr's Mehdi army as an illegal militia. An anti-militia law adopted last week by the new Iraqi caretaker government technically bans any militia member from politics for a period of three years. An aide to Sadr also said that the cleric is not interested in any

political post for himself but will certainly support people who seek political office.

A note of caution also was aired by the aide when he said that Sadr's movement was truly interested in participating in elections **provided they were free and honest.**

In a major turnaround from his earlier stance, Sadr, who had earlier denounced interim President Ghazi al-Yawer as an American-installed puppet and called on the government only on June 18 to end its alliance with the US-led coalition, announced that he would support the new government, due to assume power July 1, but only if it worked to end the American presence here.

Much of the world's attention is so riveted on Iraq and to some extent on Afghanistan that crises **boiling up in other parts of the world** do not seem to get much attention. The situation in **Darfur** in Sudan has worsened to such an extent that the UN served notice to the world saying that a humanitarian crisis of enormous proportions is now inevitable in the Darfur region and up to one million people could die if aid was not delivered there swiftly.

The Sudanese government suspects the people of Darfur of aiding two other rebel groups, the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) who are fighting for autonomy. Recent promising progress in the peace talks between the government and the SPLA actually contributed to Darfur's downfall. The SLA and, later, the JEM, saw the two-party peace deal as shutting them out of Sudan's future. So they took up arms, scoring some early successes against government installations. This focused the government's wrath, sending its hired Janjaweed (Arab) militia out against the civilian population of Darfur who were subject to vicious atrocities.

Village after village was burnt down and brutalities on helpless villagers continued unabated. As a UN relief officer said, "There are no more villages to burn". The razing of villages does not mean that the brutalized civilians are now safe from the horrors that were inflicted upon them by the rampaging Janjaweed militia cadres. Mass murder and rape of black African tribes is carried out every day with impunity.

Helpless civilians have been herded into camps that are rightly called "concentration camps" by many observers and they are left there to die a slow death from malnutrition and disease. Reserves of grain and edibles have been deliberately destroyed while passage of humanitarian aid is blocked from reaching those who have been rendered homeless. Those who were lucky to escape the slaughter have been left to starve to death.

An estimated 30000 civilians have died due to starvation. International aid agencies claim over 1.2 million civilians have been displaced within Sudan since early last year and 120000 have sought sanctuary in neighbouring Chad. USAID estimates that another 350000 people could die because of the situation in Darfur.

The government of Sudan has been blamed for conducting a scorched earth, near-genocidal war against its own citizens. Again.

A few weeks ago UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan referred to "ethnic cleansing" in Darfur and openly suggested that military intervention might be required. But the world remains largely unmoved by the horrible atrocities being committed in Darfur. The general silence from the Arab League and the Muslim world is also inexplicable.

Ronald Reagan, the 40th president of the USA, who died on

Saturday, June 5 battling Alzheimer's disease for years, was given an emotional farewell in a grand state funeral in Washington by present and former world leaders capping six days of mourning and nostalgic remembrance. He was remembered as being the most popular President in American history and for winning the Cold War without a shot being fired. Praises were showered on the president in fond remembrance of his policies that gave America new strength but his critics maintain that everything was not milk and honey under Reagan. He had his shortcomings and some of his policies proved hugely detrimental for the US but at such a time, people tend to focus only on the positive aspects as is the acceptable custom.

In Pakistan, the countryside strike on Friday, June 4 called by the MMA to protest against the killing of a religious scholar and loss of innocent lives in mosques and Imambargah remain comparatively peaceful with some incidents of violence taking place in MMA dominated areas of Karachi. It is about time that we shun the politics of strikes as it only results in large-scale misery for the common man. The most harm it causes is to the economy but sadly, those who give calls for strikes never consider this. The brutal killings of so many innocent people is highly condemnable and cause for deep anguish for all people but there must be a more dignified manner of voicing protest than shutting down the wheels that drive the economy. Newspaper reports indicate that many patients were unable to reach hospitals because vehicles were not allowed to ply. Even ambulances were targeted by unruly mobs. Sources at the Edhi Foundation said it received more than 200 calls for ambulances to ferry distressed heart patients to

hospitals but as ambulances were being stoned by mobs, not all patients could be reached. Have we become so indifferent to the suffering of our brothers?

Those who gave the call for strike must also be ready to bear responsibility for allowing supporters to run amok. They must not hide behind the fig-leaf excuse of "anti-social elements" especially when such incidents occur in areas considered to be their strongholds. They must rein in their supporters and also urge upon them to restrain others from indulging in such activities.

Pakistan witnessed another high profile political killing in Karachi on Thursday, June 17 when PPP leader Munawwar Suharwardy was killed by two unknown assailants as he got out of his car. Suharwardy was Benazir Bhutto's security chief and bodyguard.

As news of the murder spread, violence erupted in parts of the city and several vehicles and shops were burnt by angry supporters. A bank was also set on fire near the home of the deceased. A petrol filling station was also ransacked by the protestors.

The killing has drawn wide condemnation. The Sindh government has announced a reward of Rs 2 million for providing lead to the killers of Munawwar Suharwardy. Sketches of two suspects who took part in the killing were also released by the police.

While the law enforcement agencies are hunting for the killers, some leaders of the PPP and MMA have openly accused MQM of being involved in this gruesome act. This is one unfortunate aspect that has to be shunned by politicians. Everyone knows that there is no love lost between these three political parties who are arch political rivals. Surprisingly those who accused the MQM are upper hierarchy and seasoned politicians who should know when to exercise restraint. They

should realize that their accusations might incense some party supporters and propel them to avenge the assassination. Who will be responsible if this occurs?

It is not only PPP or MMA who is to blame. The MQM is at fault too as it has also indulged in the same exercise after the recent bye-election fiasco by blaming the religious parties for carrying out acts of terrorism in Karachi.

All political parties must wake up and take notice of the mayhem in Karachi. The killing of politicians and religious scholars is also a political problem and one should not expect it to be solved by administrative means alone. All political parties must work to develop a consensus on the need for conducting clean politics and agree to banish those elements that believe in violence as a political tool.

An important breakthrough was achieved by law enforcement agencies with the arrest of the nephew of a top **al-Qaida operative** and thirteen others suspected to be involved in terrorist activities in Pakistan. The accused persons include both Pakistanis and foreigners, mainly of Central Asian origin and have been charged with committing a series of terrorist acts in Karachi and Quetta which includes the recent attack in broad daylight on the Karachi Corps Commander's convoy. It is also believed that those arrested are also involved in cases of sectarian killings in Quetta and Karachi.

In another development on June 17, three militants of the newly surfaced jihadi outfit, **Jundullah** were arrested after a raid on a Madressah in Orangi Town in Karachi. They confessed to their affiliation with the banned Sipah-i-Sahaba Pakistan. 12 grenades, four sub-machine guns, two G-3 rifles, five pistols and three .222 rifles were also recovered.

It is only fair that the law

enforcement agencies, who are mostly targeted with criticism, be commended for showing such efficiency in tracking down and apprehending wanted militants.

With these arrests, the public perception of the agencies that had taken a sound beating, with some good reason, would also have changed for the better. Since it is the people who usually bear the brunt of violence, they should now feel reassured that the government is doing everything in its power to provide safety and security.

It is now important that these people be tried by the courts and awarded exemplary punishment swiftly without wasting much time. The President's recent call for the speedy disposal of cases involving acts of terrorism takes on more relevance now. A quick and swift process of trial and punishment will send strong signals that we mean business and terrorists will not be spared.

The death in a village on the outskirts of **Wana**, of Nek Mohammad, the tribal militant, in a missile attack by security forces on Thursday, June 17 might bring in repercussions in the form of revenge attacks that some of his associates have vowed to conduct. Five of his companions also died in the attack.

The government had tried every avenue to sort out the problem of foreign militants and their registration in the region by peaceful measures. Nek Mohammad and five other wanted men were granted amnesty by the government on their promise to live in peace. But differences soon arose over the terms of the agreement with Nek insisting that surrendering or registration of foreigners living in the region was never a part of the deal.

It is heartening to note that the Army is still keeping its options open and has once again reiterated that foreigners can still avail the amnesty

offer by surrendering and getting themselves registered. This indicates that the Army wishes to stop further bloodshed and is more interested in pursuing peaceful means. The ball is now in the militants' court. If they wish to remain in the country as peaceful law abiding people they must regain their senses and take up the offer. The alternative is to go Nek Mohammad's way because this time the government is totally committed to eradicating extremists from its soil.

International

Vietnam's nuclear ambitions gather steam

Vietnam's programme to build its first nuclear power plant by 2020 is gathering steam, with officials saying on Wednesday, May 26 that a pre-feasibility study will be submitted to the government this year. Le Doan Phac, the director of the international affairs department at the Vietnam Nuclear Energy Institute, said the study had determined three possible locations for the plant in the coastal provinces of Phu Yen and Ninh Thuan. "We cannot give a precise date when we will formally submit the pre-feasibility study.

That depends on the government, but we can say that we expect it to happen this year," he said. The blueprint envisages that the plant, which will have a capacity of either 2,000 or 4,000 megawatts, will be built with international cooperation. Phac's comments came as government experts and nuclear power companies from France, Russia, Japan, South Korea and India — the frontrunners hoping to cash in on Vietnam's nuclear ambitions — began a four-day meeting in Hanoi.

Experts say the communist nation is not capable of developing nuclear technology on its own, even though it profited during the 1980s

from information exchanges with the former Soviet Union. In February, Russia and Vietnam signed a memorandum of understanding in which Moscow agreed to help Hanoi build its first nuclear power plant, but experts say the door still remains wide open for its competitors.

"It is very early days. It is still a negotiating process," said one foreign energy specialist, who requested anonymity. Vietnam's Institute of Technology for Radioactive Materials said last year the country had an estimated 230,000 tonnes of uranium and could run a nuclear power station for at least 24 years.

Development of Vietnam's energy infrastructure is one of the most significant challenges facing the power-hungry Southeast Asian nation, where the World Bank forecasts economic growth will hit 7.0 percent this year.

According to government estimates, the country will experience an electricity shortage of eight billion kilowatts by 2015, increasing to a massive 35 billion to 60 billion kilowatts by 2020.

Despite having a vast network of rivers and significant oil, gas and coal reserves, the government is concerned about their finite nature, and believes the future of its energy production depends on diversification. Observers also believe that Hanoi's desire to pursue the nuclear power option dovetails with its military-security policy.

"Nuclear power is always tied up with national defence, so it is very difficult to say whether a shortage of energy in 2015 requires developing this option in a country with a lot of capacity in hydro-power and coal," the foreign specialist said.

"But if you look around at Vietnam's neighbours, Taiwan, South Korea, North Korea, Japan and China upstairs, it is understand-

able that they are going to think of nuclear power as a long term option. It is a prudent move." Skeptics, however, say the nuclear programme will come with an exorbitant price tag and is not essential in a country where average per capita income hovers around a paltry 440 dollars a year.

A spokesman for the World Bank in Vietnam said on Wednesday the organization would not be involved in financing the nuclear power project. "We do not finance nuclear projects and have no intention of financing nuclear power," he said. Critics of Vietnam's nuclear programme also believe the government has been too conservative in its forecasts of when the country's oil and gas reserves will dry up.

UN warned against North-South divide

Pakistan has said that the international community should avoid a North/South divide in the fight against terrorism and a clash of civilizations, stressing "we must not allow the campaign against terrorism to be transformed into a war against Islam."

Addressing the Security Council meeting which discussed a report by the chairman of Al Qaida and Taliban sanctions committee, Pakistan's ambassador to the United Nations said on Tuesday, May 25: "In particular, the international community should not allow the fight against terrorism to be used for suppressing human rights, including the right of people struggling for self-determination especially in cases of foreign occupation or alien domination.

"The two are clearly distinct and this distinction needs to be maintained through an agreed legal definition of terrorism," he added. Calling for a comprehensive strategy for waging a war against terrorism, Mr. Akram stressed the "need

to address factors, which contribute to the growth of terrorism if not directly lead to terrorism.

These include poverty, socio-economic injustices, political repression, foreign occupation and non-settlement of old disputes". Underscoring that Pakistan has had a key role in fulfilling the objectives of the Al Qaida and Taliban sanctions committee, Mr. Akram pointed out that his country "has played a key role in the virtual breakdown of the Al Qaida organization and network."

"We have captured over 500 Al Qaida and associated terrorists, including most of its top leadership. We have cooperated in tracking down members of the organization in several other countries. Pakistan has created the national anti-terrorism capacity - intelligence, police, law-enforcement," Mr. Akram added.

UN and US warn of crisis in Darfur

A humanitarian crisis of enormous proportions is now inevitable in western Sudan's Darfur region and up to one million people could die if aid is delivered there swiftly, international officials warned.

"We estimate right now if we get relief in, we'll lose a third of a million people, and if we don't the death rates could be dramatically higher, approaching a million people," US Agency for International Development (USAID) chief Andrew Natsios predicted after a high-level UN aid meeting.

More than one million African civilians have been forced to flee their homes because of an onslaught by government-backed Arab militia and Sudanese troops in Darfur over the past year, and atrocities are continuing, the United Nations said.

The United States, European Union, France and the UN warned Khartoum that it must put a stop to

atrocities by militia in the strife-torn region, and iron out "severe restrictions" which are still hampering aid deliveries.

Nearly half of the victims are in the westernmost part of Darfur, where aid agencies are struggling to provide help before the impending rainy season.

"This is also the region where the Janjaweed militia is at its strongest and in spite of the ceasefire agreement... the internally displaced report that they are seeing more atrocities, more rape, more pillage, more murder," said UN Under Secretary General for Humanitarian Affairs Jan Egeland.

Another 700,000 to 800,000 more people in Darfur are likely to run out of what they need to survive within months, the UN added.

Some 150,000 Sudanese refugees have fled across the border to Chad, 50,000 more than previously estimated.

"We admit we are late. Constraints have been so great, some agencies have been so slow, some donors have been so slow, the government restrictions have been so many," Egeland said. "And the Janjaweed militia have been so harsh on the populations that we will have a humanitarian crisis of enormous proportions even in the best of circumstances," he warned.

The UN said it faced a funding gap of about 236 million dollars for aid in the region until the end of the year. At the meeting, the United States pledged 188 million dollars over 18 months and the European Union's Commission said it would come up with 10 million more euros, while France promised another 1.4 million euros for refugees in Chad.

Officials were adamant that the pressure was firmly on Sudan's government, amid the "most violent, mean-spirited kind of human con-

duct imaginable" in Darfur, said World Food Programme (WFP) chief James Morris.

Representing the European Union, Ireland's Minister for Development, Tom Kitt, said: "We must also send a strong unequivocal message to the Sudanese government that it live up to its obligations to protect its citizens and, in accordance with the ceasefire agreement, disarm the militia and give access".

The meeting in Geneva brought together donors, Sudanese and Chad officials, Darfur rebel groups, the United Nations and aid agencies. "Humanitarian aid is urgent but it is not enough. A political solution is necessary: the Sudanese government's ethnic cleansing must not stand," Kenneth Roth, head of the advocacy group Human Rights Watch Roth said here.

On Tuesday, one of two rebel groups — the Justice and Equality Movement — said 24 people had been killed in a two-day assault by government forces in the west Darfur village of Adjidi.

A UN human rights report released last month accused the Sudanese government of committing massive human rights violations in Darfur that may amount to crimes against humanity.

Iran threatens Israel with matching reply: Nuclear facilities' bombing plan

Israel will suffer a "painful" response if it dares to attack any of Iran's nuclear facilities, the Islamic republic's top national security official warned on Wednesday, June 2.

"I do not think Israel will make such a stupid move because it knows fully well how we will respond," Hassan Rohani told a news conference. "Our response will be painful to Israel," he said, but dismissed all talks of an Israeli attack as "propaganda".

Last month Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon said Iran was "probably the main existential threat" to his country. Both Israel and the United States suspect Iran is developing nuclear weapons under cover of an effort to generate nuclear energy.

In 1981, Israel attacked an Iraqi nuclear facility, and there has been speculation it may consider doing the same for Iran - which continues to call for the destruction of the Zionist state.

Rohani's comments came as he answered to new revelations from the UN nuclear watchdog that bolstered suspicions over the Islamic republic's shadowy atomic energy programme.

Mr. Rohani challenged the United States on Wednesday to produce any evidence it has that Tehran is actively trying to build a nuclear bomb. "If the Americans have any claims or information they should hand it over to the (UN nuclear watchdog) agency, but it's clear they have nothing," Mr. Rohani told reporters in Tehran.

He said the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) had only minor concerns about Iran and would soon be able to reassure the world Tehran has no atomic arms ambitions.

IAEA chief Mohamed ElBaradei told NATO parliamentarians on Tuesday, June 1 that he could not rule out that Iran's nuclear programme was linked to a military weapons programme. "The jury is out on whether (Iran's) programme has been dedicated exclusively for peaceful purposes," ElBaradei said.

The United States accuses Iran of running a secret nuclear weapons programme that is parallel to its declared atomic energy programme. Iran denies this, insisting its ambitions are limited to the peaceful generation of electricity.

"I think the administration oversteps the evidence by saying it

knows Iran has a weapons programme," said David Albright, a former UN weapons inspector and president of the Institute for Science and International Security (ISIS) in Washington.

"There's no evidence that's been found that shows they have an active nuclear weapons programme," Albright said. But he said Iran seems to be keeping the weapons "option" open by pursuing uranium enrichment, a process of purifying uranium for use as fuel in nuclear power plants or in weapons.

"I think the US should be rightly criticised for not providing evidence of a weapons programme in Iran," he added. The United States accused Saddam Hussein of reviving Iraq's dismantled atomic weapons programme after UN inspectors were forced out in 1998, but no evidence was found to support this. This was one of the main justifications for the Iraq war.

Saudi Arabia allows women to work

Saudi Arabia has lifted a ban that kept women from jobs in most fields in what analysts see as a way of fighting extremism and boosting the economy in the wake of the deadly terror attacks in the kingdom.

The Saudi cabinet, chaired by King Fahd, last week took a landmark decision allowing women to obtain commercial licences.

Previously women could only open a business in the name of male relatives, and religious and social restrictions excluded them from all but a few professions such as teaching and nursing.

"This decision will certainly reduce social and economic pressures on men, who are no longer capable of meeting family needs due to a drop in personal income," said Nahid Taher, a senior economist at National Commercial Bank.

She told AFP that creating employment had become a way of fighting homegrown terrorism.

"It also has an important security aspect in fighting terrorists in the kingdom, as the solution to this problem is no longer of a purely security nature."

Taher said 55 percent of university graduates in the oil-rich kingdom are females, but the overwhelming majority stayed at home because of the ban and a general lack of job opportunities.

According to official figures, only 5.5 percent out of some 4.7 million Saudi women of working age are employed.

The cabinet also ordered government ministries and bodies to create jobs for women, and asked the Chambers of Commerce and Industry to form a committee for women to help train and find jobs for them in the private sector.

It also decided that land will be allocated for the establishment of industrial projects to employ women, and said in future all positions in shops selling women's clothes and accessories would be reserved for Saudi women.

The head of the Jeddah-based Middle East Centre for Strategic and Legal Studies, Anwar Eshki, said the steps highlight the role the economy can play in fighting extremism. "The cost of living has gone up and women must share the burden with their husbands. If this is not done, it will negatively affect the security situation. It will only breed further complications," Eshki said.

"We cannot separate terrorism from the economy ... The security solution is essential, but it is not the decisive one. The cabinet's decision is a response to this understanding," he told AFP.

The kingdom, the world's largest oil producer and exporter, has in the past year been jolted by a string of

terrorist attacks which killed more than 85 people and have been blamed on Islamist extremists sympathetic to the Al-Qaida network.

The unemployment rate in Saudi Arabia is estimated at more than 20 percent, though officials insist it is below 10 percent. Women outnumber men in Saudi universities because they seldom study abroad and unlike men they normally only look for jobs after graduating from university.

Taher said the government's decision will remarkably improve the income of many Saudi families, but added she feared it may remain "ink on paper."

Liberals in Saudi Arabia hope to ease a range of restrictions on women that make them dependent on male relatives.

Women here have been covered from head to toe in public and cannot mix with men other than relatives. They are also not allowed to drive or travel alone.

Riyadh began issuing separate civil identity cards for Saudi women in late 2001 but the documents can only be issued with the approval of a male guardians such as a husband or father.

The government has in recent months been seeking to boost women's role in society but faces opposition from the powerful religious establishment.

South Korea unhappy with planned US troops pull-out

South Korea took issue Tuesday, June 8 with the timing of Washington's announced pullout of one third of its forces from the country and said the plan had yet to be finalized.

Washington confirmed a day earlier, on Monday, that it wants to withdraw 12,500 troops from South Korea as part of a global review of its military posture designed to pro-

duce a more agile fighting force for the 21st century.

South Korea is still technically at war with North Korea and the announcement triggered alarm in a country gripped by uncertainty for the past 20 months over the Stalinist state's nuclear weapons drive.

South Korean officials said the troop withdrawal announcement was formulated as a proposal, rather than a final decision and Seoul was busily preparing its own counter-proposal.

Washington, facing immediate pressure for fresh troops for duty in Iraq, said the pullout would take place within 18 months. Seoul wants the deadline pushed back. The troop withdrawal proposal was announced on the sidelines of talks on realigning US forces from positions close to the border with North Korea to bases south of Seoul and includes a previously announced redeployment of 3,600 troops from South Korea to Iraq. The number and type of troops implicated in the proposed withdrawal was still up for discussion, National Security Adviser Kwon Chin-Ho was quoted as saying in a pool report.

"The timetable is nothing but a suggestion from the United States and we need to examine and negotiate it," Kwon said before attending a cabinet meeting presided over by President Roh Moo-Hyun.

"In the reviewing process, we also need to closely consult on which US troops in Korea should be moved."

Defense Minister Cho Young-Kil, in the same pool report, referred to the troop withdrawal announcement as a "suggestion" that was subject to modification. South Korean security-related ministries were discussing the proposal and would soon present Washington with recommendations, he said.

Media reports said South Korea

wanted a delay of several years in the plan for the biggest troop withdrawal from South Korea since the Vietnam War and its first troop pullout from the country in over a decade.

The timeframe should be pushed back to between 2007 and 2113 to allow South Korea to complete a 10-year plan to upgrade its own military forces, according to some reports.

North Korea, which has campaigned strenuously for a pullout of all 37,000 US troops from South Korea, was expected to view the planned troop withdrawal with suspicion. The Stalinist state earlier condemned US plans to realign its forces in South Korea away from the heavily-fortified border with North Korea as a sinister plot to prepare a pre-meditated strike and trigger the second Korean War.

Talks were in their second day in Seoul on June 8 between top US and South Korean officials on the realignment plan that includes the removal of the Yongsan garrison, headquarters of US forces in South Korea, from the capital to a location further south.

North Korea on Monday reiterated its call for a complete US troop pullout on an Internet website operated by Pyongyang, Yonhap news agency said.

Libya plotted Saudi prince's assassination

While Libyan leader Col. Muammar Gaddafi was renouncing terror and negotiating the lifting of sanctions last year, his intelligence chiefs ordered a covert operation to assassinate the Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia, according to statements by two participants in the alleged conspiracy. Those participants, Abdurrahman Alamoudi, a US Muslim leader now in jail in Virginia, and Col. Mohamed Ismael, a Libyan intelligence officer in Saudi custody, have given separate state-

ments to US and Saudi officials outlining the plot.

Alamoudi told FBI officials that Gaddafi approved the plan. US officials confirm that Alamoudi and Ismael have offered detailed accounts of a Libyan plot to assassinate Abdullah and they appear to be credible enough to have launched a US probe. But officials said they were still examining the scope of the plot, how far it advanced and if Gaddafi was involved. They said the accusations were one reason the US had not removed Libya from the State Department's list of nations that support terrorism.

As a revolutionary who overthrew a monarchy, Gaddafi has long regarded the Saudi royal family with a degree of contempt.

Alamoudi's statements were offered in plea negotiations with federal prosecutors that are not yet completed. He was indicted last October in the US District Court in Alexandria accused of violating US sanctions by travelling to Libya and receiving money from Libyan officials. Senior officials in the US, British and Saudi governments have been aware of the investigation of the assassination plot for several months.

In June 2003, Alamoudi said, Gaddafi told him, "I want the crown prince killed, either through assassination or through a coup." By August, according to Alamoudi, Gaddafi asked why he had not yet seen "heads flying" in the Saudi royal family. Alamoudi's account is critical as it ties the terrorist plot that has been said to exist to a head of state. For that reason, Alamoudi has been questioned in detail about his two meetings with Gaddafi, including descriptions of the Libyan leader's farm in Sidra, where they reportedly met in June, and of Gaddafi's office in Tripoli, where they reportedly met in August.

'UK holds indirect talks with Taliban'

The UK has started holding indirect talks with the Taliban to seek an "honourable" exit from Afghanistan, MMA secretary-general Maulana Fazlur Rahman, who is mediating between the two, told Dawn on Sunday, June 13.

The Maulana feels that the British authorities are working on behalf of the United States and this indirect process has been chosen to avoid any ill-effects on forthcoming presidential elections. The polls are to be held on Nov 2.

UK foreign minister Jack Straw during his recent visit to Islamabad had called on Maulana Fazl, who is also opposition leader in the National Assembly, to initiate the talks process.

After contacting and getting a go-ahead signal from the Taliban, the Maulana then had suddenly left for Britain at a time when the MMA, of which he is secretary-general, had announced a long march on Wana against ongoing army operation launched for pushing out "foreign militants" taking refuge there.

During his three-day stay in London, he held several meetings with officials of foreign and interior ministries as well as of secret agencies, Maulana Fazl said. He is scheduled to call on UK high commissioner in Islamabad in early July before leaving for London later in the month to further discuss possibilities and modalities of direct talks between the two parties.

A JUI official confided to Dawn's reporter that the Taliban are so far reluctant to come forward directly as they have lost confidence in Pakistan authorities who had handed over their diplomat in Islamabad Mullah Zaeef to the US two years ago against all diplomatic norms and international laws.

If the talks proved successful and the US was provided a face-saving exit plan, it will not only bring to an end the war going on in Afghanistan rather it will also have positive impacts on the region, especially on internal situation of Pakistan, the Maulana hopes.

Charge Saddam or free him - Red Cross

Saddam Hussein must either be released from custody by June 30 or charged if the US and the new Iraqi government are to conform to international law, the International Committee of the Red Cross said on Sunday, June 13.

Nada Doumani, a spokeswoman for the ICRC told the London-based Guardian newspaper: "The United States defines Saddam Hussein as a prisoner of war. At the end of an occupation PoWs have to be released provided they have no penal charges against them."

Her comments came as the international body, the only independent group with access to detainees in US custody, becomes increasingly concerned over the legal limbo in which thousands of people are being held in the run-up to the transfer of power at the end of the month.

The occupation officially ends on June 30 and US forces will be in Iraq at the invitation of its sovereign government. "There are all these people kept in a legal vacuum. No one should be left not knowing their legal status. Their judicial rights must be assured," Ms Doumani said.

Saddam and other senior officials of the old regime are the only Iraqi detainees to have been given PoW status. Hundreds of other Iraqis have been seized since the war often, according to critics, on flimsy suspicion and held for long periods without charge.

"If we consider the occupation ends on June 30, that would mean

it's the end of the international armed conflict. This is the legal situation. When the conflict ends the prisoners of war should be released according to the Geneva conventions," Ms Doumani said.

She accepted that US and other foreign forces would remain in Iraq. Whether that meant an occupation continued would be "determined by the situation on the ground". The presence of foreign forces ought to be governed by a legal agreement with the host government.

The ICRC has made at least two visits to the former Iraqi president who is believed to be in a special prison at Baghdad airport. Around 40 other members of the so-called "pack of cards", Washington's list of high-level members of the former regime, are also there, most in solitary confinement.

Interrogation has been sporadic and none has been charged or allowed visits by their lawyers. A few have had family visits. US lawyers have been helping Iraqis prepare charges against Saddam but officials say they do not expect a trial until next year at the earliest.

The US and the Iraqi authorities hope other defendants will first testify against him. But none has been willing to do so. Whether it is out of loyalty or fear of retribution by Saddam's sympathisers is not clear.

Once charged the former president will be entitled to judicial guarantees including access to a lawyer and the right to prepare a defence. The US has made clear it will continue to detain some Iraqis after the transfer of sovereignty as part of its security operations..

US panel report rules out Saddam's 9/11 links

There's no credible evidence to suggest that the former Iraqi government collaborated with al Qaida on any attacks in the United States,

says a panel report released on Wednesday, June 16.

The 10-member commission, formed to investigate the 9/11 attacks in the United States, reports that although al Qaida chief Osama bin Laden explored possible cooperation with the deposed Iraqi president Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi leader showed no interest.

The White House had initially opposed the creation of a bipartisan commission and attempted to limit the panel's access to documents and witnesses related to 9-11 but later changed its attitude.

And as the administration had feared, the commission's findings are sharply critical of its anti-terrorism policies, also point out the mistakes it made in dealing with terrorism before 9/11.

The panel reports that Osama made at least two attempts to seek Saddam Hussein's patronage, although he opposed Iraq's secular policies. In 1994, when Osama was in Sudan, the Sudanese government arranged a meeting with a senior Iraqi intelligence official and the al Qaida chief requested permission to establish training camps in Iraq and also demanded weapons for his followers.

But Iraq turned down the request, the US report said. Osama lived in Sudan from 1991 to 1996 when the United States forced the Sudanese government to exile him to Afghanistan.

"There have been reports that contacts between Iraq and Al Qaida also occurred after bin Laden had returned to Afghanistan, but they do not appear to have resulted in a collaborative relationship," the report said. "Two senior (Osama) bin Laden associates have adamantly denied that any ties existed between al Qaida and Iraq."

The findings contradict recent statements by President George W.

Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney who reiterated their claims that Saddam Hussein had long-standing ties to al Qaida.

The 9/11 panel, which opened its last two-day round of hearings on Wednesday morning and includes members from the both Republican and Democratic parties, said: "We have no credible evidence that Iraq and al Qaida cooperated on attacks against the United States."

The findings were included in the first of three staff reports the commission plans to release this week. The report, entitled "Overview of the Enemy", says al Qaida has changed drastically since Sept 2001. It has become more decentralized, though it still helps regional networks carry out terror attacks and assists in training and funding.

FUNDING: "Contrary to popular understanding," the report says, "(Osama) bin Laden did not fund al Qaida through a personal fortune and a network of businesses," and he never received a 300 million dollars inheritance. "Instead, al Qaida relied primarily on a fundraising network developed over time," the report says.

In 1998, the suicide truck bombings of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania - which killed 224 people and injured more than 5,000 combined - marked a new departure in that "they were planned, directed and executed by al Qaida, under the direct supervision of bin Laden and his chief aides", the report says.

Since the Sept 11 attacks and the ouster of the Taliban in Afghanistan, "al Qaida's funding has decreased significantly," the report says. But the group's expenditures have decreased as well, and "it remains relatively easy for al Qaida to find the relatively small sums required to fund terrorist operations," the report warns.

Now, the organization is far

more decentralized, with operational commanders and cell leaders making the decisions that were previously made by Osama, the panel found.

EU Celebrates Constitution as Hard Sell Begins

After a glass or two of champagne and a good night's sleep to celebrate agreeing a historic constitution for the European Union, the bloc's leaders now start the tough job of persuading their people to ratify it.

They also need to find a new president of the EU's executive Commission, a task that has already exposed lingering divisions between member states over the U.S.-led war in Iraq and deep-seated differences in their vision of European integration.

The constitution will give the bloc stronger leadership with a long-term president of the European Council and a foreign minister to represent it on the world stage, more powers for the European Parliament and more decisions taken by majority vote.

It is also meant to make the bloc's complex and remote institutions easier for citizens to understand.

"This is a fundamental advance for the European Union," said Irish Prime Minister Bertie Ahern, who resurrected negotiations that collapsed last December under inept Italian leadership and steered them to success through Dublin's six-month presidency.

"This is a win-win solution which is what we set out months ago to achieve," he said shortly before midnight Friday, June 18 after a tense, two-day summit.

But all 25 member states still have to ratify the treaty before it can take effect, some by a vote in national parliaments and some by referendum.

EU officials, mindful of the dismal record of most member states in

effectively explaining the bloc to their voters, are already urging them to remedy this before ratification.

British Prime Minister Tony Blair, who faces a tough task convincing his largely apathetic and frequently euroskeptic electorate to approve the treaty at a referendum, started campaigning within minutes of the adoption of the text.

His foreign secretary Jack Straw also lost no time in telling voters he had stood his ground to preserve national vetoes on key policy areas such as taxation, social security, foreign and defense policy and criminal law.

The immediate task facing the bloc's leaders, however, is to select a successor to Italian Romano Prodi as president of the European Commission from November.

There were two favorites for the job during the summit: Belgian Prime Minister Guy Verhofstadt, backed by France and Germany but anathema to Britain, and EU External Relations Commissioner Chris Patten, a Briton with a poor grasp of French who was out of the question for Paris.

Britain opposed Verhofstadt because of his federalist view of EU integration and his anti-American stance over Iraq.

No clear front-runner was left in the frame after the meeting and some diplomats said Ahern himself might win broad support, although he has denied any interest in the post.

Ahern said he was determined to resolve the vexed question before the end of Ireland's presidency: that gives him less than two weeks.

Special Emphasis on Terrorism

In a statement, said to be released by **al-Qaida militants in Saudi Arabia**, addressed to "the security forces and guards of Crusader (western) compounds and

American bases and all those who stand with America, its agents... and the tyrants of the Saudi Government..." warned of new attacks. The statement signed by al-Qaida's Organization in the Arabian Peninsula advised Muslims to stay away from Americans and other Westerners if they didn't want to get killed.

Meanwhile, **six Saudi non-governmental religious scholars** denounced attacks on westerners as a "grave sin" under Islam. The statement issued by the clerics of whom at least two have been in jail for demanding reforms and for criticizing the Saudi Royal family, said those who killed non-Muslims living among Muslims would not go to heaven. Mohsen al-Awajy, an expert on Islamic militants, said that the statement by the clerics would fall on deaf ears and that the militants would not give up their ideology.

A report prepared by the Council on Foreign Relations says that although **Saudi Arabia** has enacted laws and regulations to block the flow of funds to terrorist organizations it has not publicly punished individuals and groups that have provided the funds. The Saudi Embassy in Washington called the report "politically motivated, ill-informed and factually incorrect". The report has also recommended ways that the US could adopt to better block funding to terrorists through Saudi Arabia.

Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Abdullah speaking on television, warned militants that his government would shortly deploy "more security forces than they ever faced before".

Officials from special forces and counter-terrorism experts from 14 countries of the **Asia-Pacific Rim** and the US gathered in Bowral, a small town south of Sydney, for what has been called an "unprecedented" attempt to coordinate the war

against the al-Qaida and its Southeast Asian allies. The three-day meeting that began June 16 acknowledged that Asia-Pacific region is a breeding ground for Islamic extremism. The aim of the first meeting was to "establish links and share experience between national agencies and Special Forces units dealing with terrorism". Countries represented included the USA, Australia, New Zealand, China, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, Vietnam, Brunei, Cambodia, India and Papua New Guinea.

Within **Iraq**, the wave of suicide bomb attacks that killed nearly 100 people, mostly Iraqis, indicate that the perpetrators are changing tactics. According to experts who say that Abu Musab al-Zarqawi is responsible for most of the attacks, are now resorting to simpler and frequent suicide car bombings with the sole intention of stopping the handing over of power to an Iraqi government. Reports suggest that nearly 250 car bombs have been readied in preparation for more attacks before June 30, the date power will be handed over. However there are skeptics who say that al-Zarqawi's role is being exaggerated as justification for US claims that Saddam Hussein had links to al-Qaida through al-Zarqawi.

Following the recent violence in **Karachi** that killed over 50 people, injured countless others and damaged property worth billions, the authorities decided to declare areas around foreign missions as "high security zones". Under the plan crack police commandos would be deployed and emergency centers established in the zones.

Foreign NGOs halted their operations in Pakistan's Balochistan Province because of security reasons. UNHCR reduced its operations while other NGOs closed their offices.

Europe

Far-right British protesters clashed with Muslim worshippers and police during Friday (June 4) prayers outside a **London** mosque where jailed radical cleric Abu Hamza al-Masri had given sermons. Around 20 demonstrators, calling themselves members of the United British Alliance, waved Union Jack flags and shouted anti-Muslim slurs from behind a barricade set up by police. A couple of the men managed to jump the barrier and interrupt prayers being held in the street in front of the mosque in Finsbury Park, in the north of the capital.

Police broke up the skirmish immediately, and prayers were resumed while protesters sang traditional British national songs.

A bomb exploded outside **Monaco's** main soccer stadium early on Sunday, June 6. Since the building was empty at the time no one was killed or injured but a large number of windows shattered due to the explosion. The blast apparently targeted a part of the building that housed State offices and the HQ of various sports associations. No one has claimed responsibility.

Two more Spaniards were arrested on Monday June 14 by **Spanish** police from Aviles and Salinas, two small towns in the mining region of Asturias. Both are accused of stealing the Goma 2-Eco explosive and transporting it to Madrid for use in the March 11 Madrid train bombings by Islamic militants who are said to have exchanged drugs and cash for the explosives. According to reports one of the suspects is a minor. So far a total of ten people have been arrested in Spain in connection with the theft of the dynamite. Twenty people have so far been charged by Spanish authorities for the train bombings.

Baltasar Garzon, the Spanish judge investigating the al-Qaida's activities in **Spain** is said to have completed his probe but declined to give any details. The report would be submitted to a three-judge panel at the National Court that deals with terrorism. Garzon has so far indicted 40 people so far on terrorism charges of whom ten have been accused specifically of helping the 9/11 attack in the USA.

Thirteen people were arrested by French anti-terror police in raids conducted in the **Paris** area on June 15. Those arrested included an imam (prayer leader) and all are said to be members of the Salafist movement.

In **Turkey**, police arrested four persons on June 16 on suspicion planning to bomb the NATO meeting scheduled for June 28-29 that will be attended by foreign leaders including President Bush. The four are believed to be members of the Ansar al-Islam that is linked to the al-Qaida and have connections to sixteen others arrested in Bursa in May 2004.

South America

Jim Monaghan, Nial Connolly and Martin McCauley, the three Irishmen arrested in **Colombia** in August 2001, will soon be released from a Colombian prison after being cleared of charges that they trained Marxist rebels to build bombs. The three were arrested after they had visited a 17000-member stronghold of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia but denied the charges saying that they had visited the camp to learn about peace talks that had later collapsed. They will not be allowed to leave Colombia while the state appeals their acquittals. The three have refused offer of protection by the Colombian government because of the military's

links to right-wing death squads.

Two gunmen riding a motorcycle shot dead an American on June 17 as was heading home in his car. Craig Roger Hiserote worked for an American energy company operating in San Pedro De Macoris in the **Dominican Republic**. No motive could be ascertained and no one claimed responsibility.

Middle East

Jordanian police have arrested an unspecified number of Islamic militants in Amman on June 14. No details have been released but those arrested are suspected of plotting to use chemicals and explosives to blow up Jordan's secret service agency.

A videotape that was released June 15 on an Islamic website showed American Paul Johnson whose abductors had said they would kill him unless the **Saudi** government released al-Qaida prisoners within 3 days. That threat was carried out by his abductors who beheaded him and showed his severed head on a web site on June 18. The video carried photographs and statements in which Abdulaziz al-Muqrin claimed responsibility for the beheading. Al-Muqrin who is said to have trained with Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan and fought in Bosnia and Algeria was on Saudi Arabia's most wanted list.

On Saturday, June 19 **Saudi** authorities killed Abdulaziz al-Muqrin, Al Qaida's top leader and most wanted man in the kingdom and three other prominent militants, hours after the group carried out its threat to behead US hostage Paul Johnson. State television broadcast pictures of four bloodied corpses. Twelve others were arrested, including one senior militant believed to have been involved in the 2000 bombing of the US warship *Cole* off the coast of neighbouring Yemen.

In **Baghdad** thirty five people

died and nearly one hundred forty were wounded on June 17 when a sport utility vehicle packed with artillery shells ran into a group of nearly one hundred people waiting to volunteer for the Iraqi army. The attack is seen as one that hurts the Iraqi people because there were no foreigners in the vicinity. Later that same day six paramilitary civil defence guards were killed and another four injured in a car bomb explosion near the town of Balad.

Three Iraqi civilians were killed in an ambush in **Baghdad** on June 18. Prior to the ambush there was a roadside bomb explosion followed by an exchange of fire between the attackers and US troops. In another attack the same day about six hours later, this time with mortar shells, one American soldier was killed and a civilian contractor injured.

A councilman for the northern Iraqi city of **Tikrit** was killed on Sunday, June 20 when gunmen opened fire on his car. Azzedine al-Bayati was shot to death on the road east out of Tikrit, Saddam Hussein's hometown, said Gen. Anwar Amin of the Iraqi Civil Defense Corps. His driver and bodyguard were wounded.

South East Asia

A bomb, planted under concrete benches in a public park in Sungai Padi a town in **Thailand's** Narathiwat province, injured four policemen on June 16. Thai police regularly gather in Sungai Padi which is located near the border with Malaysia. The blast was the latest in a series of attacks by Islamic separatists in Thailand's Muslim-majority region.

South Asia/SAARC

In what is described a major breakthrough by Pakistani authorities, two persons, one said to be the nephew and the other a distant rel-

ative of Khalid Sheikh Mohammad, were arrested late June 13 (Sunday) along with eight other militants from the port city of **Karachi**. Khalid Sheikh Mohammad, who was arrested near the Pakistani capital last March 2003, is the alleged mastermind of the 9/11 attacks and number three in the al-Qaida. The eight are suspected of involvement in the attack Thursday June 10 on the Karachi Corps Commander. The ambush killed ten people. Interior ministry officials said the militants received training at an al-Qaida camp in South Waziristan.

Pakistan Army's campaign to flush out foreign militants hiding in **South Waziristan** continued Thursday June 17 as thousands of troops, attack helicopters and fighter jets were deployed and took part in the third offensive so far this year. Military sources said the militants were hiding in Baghar a village in the 30 kms stretch of mountains between Wana and the Pakistan-Afghan border. The village lies opposite Paktika, one of Afghanistan's most insurgency hit provinces. Earlier on Wednesday June 16 dozens of militants had attacked a paramilitary check post in Ladah area of South Waziristan; reports said that three of the attackers and three paramilitary men were killed in the exchange of fire.

According to statement issued by a military spokesman, Pakistan security forces killed Nek Mohammad and four others in a raid on a mud-walled compound in Wana on June 18. Calling it a "big success in the war against terror", the spokesman said Nek Mohammad was a facilitator for the al-Qaida. Nek Mohammad had given shelter and protection to suspected al-Qaida militants in South Waziristan area.

Sri Lanka police found nearly 10 kilos of explosives and two pow-

erful landmines in Colombo, the capital, on June 17. The explosives were packed in a type of jacket that suicide bombers have been known to use. Police do not know who was responsible because the Tamil Tiger rebels are observing a truce with the Sri Lanka government since February 2002.

Fourteen policemen were killed and four injured in southwestern **Nepal** on Saturday, June 19 when their bus hit a landmine planted by Maoist rebels. The blast happened near the town of Kalakate.

REGIONAL

Afghanistan – Internal Dynamics

Strange bedfellows

The Afghan government is in secret talks with senior Taliban figures to let them back into office only two and a half year after the US led military campaign to remove them. Mullah Wakil Ahmed, the former Taliban foreign minister and his predecessor, Mullah Ghous are among several top Taliban officials who are currently staying in government "safe houses" in Kabul for the negotiations.

Envoys of Hamid Karzai have promised the former ministers posts in the government after September's elections in return for persuading some of their colleagues to lay down their arms and support his candidacy.

A series of private talks between president Karzai and an array of rival Islamic militia leaders have raised fears of power sharing deal that could undermine internationally backed elections scheduled for September. The negotiations with members of the northern alliance coalition have angered leaders of Karzai's Pashtun ethnic group.

Registration behind schedule

The extremely slow pace of the

voters' registration process threatens the elections that have been scheduled for September in Afghanistan, should they be conducted as scheduled. The registration process continues to be hit by snags in areas that have witnessed a resurgence of the Taliban, especially in the south and east of Afghanistan.

The registration work commenced in December under the auspices of the United Nations for both the presidential and parliamentary elections but so far, after a period of more than six months only one-sixth of eligible voters in the north could be registered.

The UN had set a target of registering 10.5 eligible million voters in Afghanistan but six months into the job and only 2.5 million of those eligible to vote could be registered, leaving 8 million more to be registered in under four months. With the situation availing at present, the scenario looks extremely bleak.

There are a number of obstacles in the registration process. Large sections of the south and east of the country are controlled by remnants of the Taliban where UN staffers can only enter at peril of their lives. In the north of the country, rampaging warlords hold sway and decline to accept the writ of the government. Bloody skirmishes between rival warlords has added to the sense of insecurity and lawlessness in the area.

There is no doubt that President Karzai faces an uphill task in trying to hold elections as scheduled.

Insufficient election budget

As post war Afghanistan heads towards landmark elections in September this year, authorities concerned are facing a shortfall of budget to take it ahead. Manuel de Almeida e Silva of UNAMA said that the financial situation of the election budget is not as good as expected as out of US\$ 101 million that is

required for the election, only US\$70 million have been pledged so far. The huge shortfall of US\$ 30 million coupled with the slow pace of registration of voters has made the situation quite grim.

To further add to election woes, the disarmament plan that was envisaged by the UN has also not taken off smoothly because of various reasons. According to plan, by now nearly 40000 should have been successfully disarmed but so far the figure stands at only 6000 disarmed. This would mean that another 34000 armed (and potentially dangerous) individuals are now roaming about in the country that can only aggravate the situation more.

Security looms as the major challenge to Afghanistan holding elections in September despite President Bush's assertion that democracy in the war wracked nation can serve as a good example for Iraq. According to International crisis group senior analyst Vikram Parekh, the condition for holding presidential and parliamentary elections now are "pretty bad" because of security and logistical reasons, including low voter registration. The government has said it would disarm 40 percent of the estimated 40,000 to 50,000 militiamen by June but so far just under 9,000 men have surrendered their weapons. The disarmament demobilization and re-integration (DDR) process is a pre requisite for free and fair elections.

Afghan President Hamid Karzai pleaded for the US to maintain the flow of aid to his troubled country. Karzai said his nation required "sustained, systematic assistance" from the US in order to build on the reconstruction efforts undertaken since the ouster of the Taliban regime in late 2001.

Dancing with the warlords

There remains little doubt that Afghan President Hamid Karzai is widely expected to win Afghanistan's presidential elections come September. But some of his recent moves have raised apprehensions within Afghanistan and outside the country as well that he is contemplating making a coalition government with the regional militia commanders. He has already admitted privately meeting several of the powerful warlords who control large areas outside Kabul, during the past few weeks.

But Karzai vehemently denies such rumors. In an interview with "The Washington Post" earlier this week, Karzai said regional militia commanders have offered not to field a candidate against him in September's elections out of a sense of patriotism. Karzai said the commanders agreed that competitive elections between polarized factions in Afghanistan could easily degenerate into an armed conflict. He also said he wants to bring the militia leaders into the political process rather than "push them into a corner" or "frighten them away."

But others think differently. Christopher Langton, the head of defence analysis at the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, said that he suspects Karzai may have engaged in some political bargaining with the regional militia commanders. He contends that the warlords agreeing in principle not to stand against him as president in effect, marks the beginning of a "deal" whereby they will not try to destabilize Karzai's leadership. Since the warlords are overwhelmed by their "sense of patriotism" in extending a helping hand to the president, they should not want anything in return. Think again. There is popular belief that they

might be given a certain amount of autonomy – this could be a sure recipe for more disaster.

Some officials in the Afghan Transitional Authority also feel angered by rumors of coalition talks between Karzai and the militia commanders. Deputy Information Minister Abdul Hamid Mobarez feels that Karzai could undermine Afghanistan's fragile democratic reforms by forming a coalition with religious fundamentalists who control their own private armies.

Many others share these views and are concerned that political bargaining between Karzai and the militia commanders could undermine the long-term prospects for peace and stability in the country. Karzai's approach to Afghanistan's rival militia commanders could entrench their powers further rather than accomplish what most Afghans want to see — a reduction in the powers of the warlords.

The rampaging warlords have always posed a problem for Karzai, despite his previous attempts at offering them lucrative positions in the current government set-up. In order to bring in any semblance of peace in the country and prevent warlords from being a constant threat, the need is to keep them as far away as possible from the governance of Afghanistan and that can only be done by holding free and fair elections. Offering them partnerships in any future set-up is only going to make them more strong and more of a problem for Afghanistan.

These so-called "warlords" have proved more than once that they do not answer to any authority and are only interested in the own agendas. If, after coming into power, they continue with their erring ways, Afghanistan will have taken a step towards greater disaster.

Bangladesh – Internal Dynamics

Dhaka reaffirms 'One China' policy

Bangladesh and China on May 25 reiterated their resolve to strengthen ties between the two countries. This was stated at a meeting between Bangladesh Prime Minister Khaleda Zia and Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao at the Hong Qiao State Guesthouse.

The Chinese premier described Bangladesh as a trusted and tested friend of China and said his country would celebrate this year the 30 years of Bangladesh China friendship. He invited Khaleda to attend the celebration.

The meeting took place in a cordial and warm atmosphere and continued for over one hour.

Khaleda referred to the proposal for an agreement between the two countries on bio-technology in the field of agriculture and called for concluding the agreement as soon as possible. She also made plea to transform the loan for Pagla Water Treatment Plant, Karnaphuli Paper Mills and Di-ammonia Phosphate Plant into concessional credit.

She also sought concessional credit for 500 MW power plant at Bheramara and setting up of a methanol plant with equity participation of China.

The Bangladesh prime minister also sought concessional Chinese credit and grants for the development of energy, power, railway and other sectors. She made a plea for Chinese assistance for North Dhaka Sewerage System, reduction of distance between Laksham and Dhaka railway stations, 5,00,000 line digital telephone project and Rangpur-Khalashipur coal mining feasibility study.

Referring to the possibility of huge investment in Bangladesh in

textiles sector by Chinese investors, Khaleda said by setting up textile industries under joint venture, they could reap the benefits of GSP facilities being provided to Bangladesh by the EU.

She urged China for taking measures to reduce trade gap between the two countries. In this context, she pleaded for allowing zero tariff on 83 more items besides existing zero tariff facilities on 34 items Bangladesh now enjoying under Bangkok Agreement.

The prime minister sought Chinese assistance for modernisation of BDR, Police, Ansar and VDP. She also sought cooperation in the field of defence. She wished success of the Olympic Games-2008 and World Trade fair-2010 China is going to host.

The Chinese Premier assured all possible cooperation for industrialisation of Bangladesh and said Dhaka should send feasibility reports on possible industrial units which may be set up with Chinese assistance.

1,000 Bangladesh government officials vanish abroad

Bangladesh is trying to bring home and take action against some 1,000 government officials who vanished abroad while undergoing training or education, a report said on Sunday, May 30.

Letters have been sent to the known addresses of the officials who went missing in foreign countries, including Australia and the United States, the Bengali-language tabloid Manabzamin said.

It said some of them might have decided to stay abroad for political reasons but that the absence of 1,000 officials had hurt the functioning of government at home. The government plans to initiate action against the missing employees it

finds, such as forcing them to retire, said the report, which quoted official sources.

Dhaka won't send troops to fight for partisan cause: FM

Foreign Minister Morshed Khan on Friday, June 4 said Dhaka would not send peacekeepers to any country to fight for a partisan cause, before US Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's visit on June 5 to discuss Bangladesh's troops contribution to Iraq or Afghanistan missions.

"We never participated in any peacekeeping mission that could entail fighting for or against any side," he said on a question of Bangladesh's interest in sending peacekeepers to Iraq under a US-led force.

"Let me say this clearly that we never send our troops to shoot at somebody or to get shot at by the people of any land," he told journalists at Zia International Airport after returning home at the end of a five-day goodwill visit to India.

Asked on Bangladesh's position on the proposed return of sovereignty to an interim government in Iraq on June 30, Morshed affirmed Bangladesh's support for a UN-led initiative by saying, "We don't want to see it through a single lens, but through multiple lens of the United Nations."

"We have never taken any step outside the UN in the past and will not do so in the future."

Referring to the proposed draft UN Resolution presented to the UN security council by the US and Britain, Morshed said, "There are some new agendas in it and some new language, let us wait and see what the final outcome of the resolution is and if world leaders accept this."

Earlier on Thursday, June 3 the US defence secretary told reporters that he would talk to the Bangladesh

leaders about 'their military's possible interest in peacekeeping operations either in Iraq or Afghanistan', but said he did not intend to formally request Bangladesh leaders to send troops.

Morshed downplayed any such agenda and said, "We will be getting to know each other (during the trip)."

On Friday, June 4 thousands of anti-American protesters took to Dhaka's streets to renounce Rumsfeld's visit but there was no sign of protest along Rumsfeld's motorcade route from the airport, when he arrived on Saturday, June 5. In other parts of the city, a few hundred demonstrators from the Islamic Constitutional Movement shouting protesters carried anti-Rumsfeld placards and burned a replica of a U.S. flag.

Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld met with top leaders of Bangladesh to discuss peacekeeping but did not ask them to send troops to Iraq. Foreign Minister M. Morshed Khan said they discussed the situations in Iraq and Afghanistan, but he was not surprised that Rumsfeld did not request Bangladeshi troops.

Another Islamist camp unearthed in Rangunia

A training camp of Islamic militants was unearthed in Rangunia upazila at about the same time when the militant training camp in Hathazari was uncovered on Tuesday, June 1 sources said on June 5.

Police also arrested one person with a firearm and seized some training materials from the camp.

The man arrested, Mohammad Tusher, 22, is a former student of a local Madressah. He was placed on a three-day remand.

Acting on a tip off, Rangunia police raided the militant camp at Kodalia in a remote forest area near Rangamati district. They nabbed

Tusher with a shotgun but the others managed to flee, the sources said.

Police admitted the unearthing of the camp and arrest of one but declined to give details.

Sources said police kept the incident secret as they were already facing trouble following the unearthing of the militant camp at Mulatali in Hathazari.

But police could not arrest the two alleged masterminds of the training camp — Madressah teachers Mir Anis and Ahmad Hossain alias Kaderi Hujur — despite raids in different remote areas of the upazila and adjoining areas yesterday.

Police and intelligence agencies quizzed for the third day yesterday two suspects — Enamul Haq and Mohammad Iskander — arrested from the camp but failed to get any information from them.

Pakistan-BD cooperation in cell phone sector urged

Pakistan's Federal Minister for Information Technology Awais Ahmad Khan Leghari on Wednesday, June 9 called for greater cooperation and partnership between mobile phone operators in Pakistan and Bangladesh to learn from each others' experiences and translate them into cogent benefits for the subscribers.

"We have already liberalized the telecom sector with two more operators about to start their operations following grant of licences to them through a very successful bidding process," he said in a meeting with Mehboob Chowdhury, chairman of the South Asian GSM Operators Forum and a director of Grameenphone, the leading mobile phone provider in Bangladesh.

Mehboob Chaudhry was also accompanied by Mehboob Hossain and Shibly Zaman, officials at Grameen phone. Awais Leghari also highlighted the government's efforts to promote IT and telecom

sectors, with particular focus on launching of e-government programme in the public sector.

He said the government was actively encouraging private-public partnerships. He said recent achievements secured in the telecom sector in the country had gone a long way in improving the country's image as a safe and investment-friendly place.

He said the ministry of information technology was also working hard to turn IT into a vibrant sector by providing innovative support and incentives to international IT players to contribute to the growth of the information technology in Pakistan.

Mr. Leghari said the ministry was ready to provide help or resources to companies and individuals seeking to use IT as an enabler to improve efficiency in public services.

Dhaka blacklisted for human trafficking

The US on Monday, 14 blacklisted Bangladesh among 10 nations for failing to adequately fight international sex trafficking, opening the way for possible sanctions.

The list can lead to cutoffs in non-humanitarian and non-trade-related US aid, the US Department of State said. Affected aid could include military, educational and cultural assistance.

It singled out Bangladesh alongside other new entrants Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Guyana, Sierra Leone and Venezuela for not doing enough to combat trafficking and will be subjected to sanctions unless they demonstrably improve their records by October.

Bangladesh has moved from "Tier 2" to "Tier 3" because it failed to make significant efforts to prosecute traffickers and address the complicity of government officials in trafficking, the State Department report explains.

"Tier 3" is a grouping of countries that are not making "significant efforts" to combat the trafficking of human beings, particularly of women and children.

Nations deemed to be complying with US and international efforts to fight trafficking are placed in "Tier 1," while those making "significant efforts" are placed in "Tier 2."

Officials at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs would not comment on the inclusion of Bangladesh in the list before running through the State Department report.

Perennial US sanctions targets Cuba, Myanmar, North Korea and Sudan are the other countries to have been put on the list. However, the State Department removed from the list Nato allies Greece and Turkey and nine other countries.

The State Department in its report observed that Bangladesh is a country of origin and transit for women and children trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation, involuntary domestic servitude, and debt bondage.

An estimated 10-20,000 women and girls are trafficked annually to India, Pakistan, Bahrain, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). A small number of women and girls are trafficked through Bangladesh from Burma to India.

Bangladeshi boys are also trafficked into the UAE and Qatar and forced to work as camel jockeys and beggars. Women and children from rural areas in Bangladesh are trafficked to urban centers for commercial sexual exploitation and domestic work.

The Bangladesh government does not fully comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking and is not making significant efforts to do so.

Overall, the government's anti-trafficking efforts stagnated although there was progress in the area of building public awareness and pre-

vention. Public corruption is rampant, although the government did pass legislation in February 2004 to create an Anti-Corruption Commission to investigate and prosecute cases of all types of corruption.

Police officials are known to facilitate trafficking of women and children, though none has ever been charged or arrested. Bangladesh should take greater steps to address government corruption and prosecute officials who are involved in trafficking.

The Bangladeshi government works in close cooperation with the various NGOs fighting trafficking. Although the government faces significant resource constraints, it receives considerable international assistance, some of which could be used to attack corruption in the police and judiciary, and some of which is already being used to provide social services for trafficking victims.

The government has failed to make a priority of protecting trafficking victims or prosecuting their exploiters.

India – Internal Dynamics

AHRC pulls up Army for atrocities

On May 27, the Assam Human Rights Commission (AHRC) pulled up the Army over the atrocities committed on innocent people including some office-bearers of the All Assam Students Union (AASU) in Nalbari district and deputed a team of the Commission headed by its SP (Investigation) for an on-the-spot report. The inquiry team will submit its report within a fortnight.

It has also issued notice to the Deputy Commissioner, Nalbari, and called for a detailed report on the incident within two weeks. The Commission further forwarded the complain petition of the aggrieved

people to the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) for consideration of taking cognizance of the allegation of violation of human rights by the Army personnel of the Barama camp in Nalbari district. This is because the Army is not within the purview of the AHRC.

Earlier on May 21, the AASU president, Prabin Boro said in his complaint petition that three office-bearers of the AASU's Dhamdhama unit were called out to the Barama Army camp on May 19 and brutally tortured. The petition also named SY Kolhapuri, an Army officer, as the main person behind the atrocities.

Ultras attack Manipur minister's house

In the third such attack, militants struck at the residence of Manipur Urban Development Minister L Nanda Kumar Singh in Imphal, but no casualty was reported, official sources said today.

Two militants riding a two-wheeler lobbed a bomb at Singh's house at Nagamapal area at 8.30 p.m on May 26.

The minister was not at his house at the time of attack as he was present at his official residence at Lamphel area, 4 kms from the house. The bomb fell short of its target and went off near a neighbour's house damaging it slightly.

The attackers then fled from the spot, the sources said adding, Imphal West district police Superintendent visited Singh's house and ordered an inquiry. The attack on Singh's house was the third of its kind in recent weeks.

Over-secretive RAW told to come clean

After days of suggestion by the Research and Analysis Wing that the "disappearance" of its Joint Secretary Ravindra Singh was no big deal, the agency has been told that

it can no longer hide behind the story.

The Prime Minister's Office has demanded a thorough investigation and a report from Secretary, RAW, C D Sahay, on Singh's disappearance. RAW's attempts to keep other wings of the Government in the dark have also been questioned. Meanwhile, fresh evidence indicates that the missing officer was handling far more sensitive material than was first suggested.

Senior RAW officials confirmed that investigations into the spy scandal show that Singh was copying the classified weekly intelligence reports and letters (cryptically called U.Os) containing hard intelligence.

The *Indian Express* has learnt that Singh was photocopying U.Os on Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Nepal—areas that were outside his immediate jurisdiction. There are also indications that Singh developed contacts with US operatives through his sister, who works for US Agency for International Development (USAID).

While RAW tried to underplay the disappearance, it was made to discuss the issue at a high-level meeting last week that was attended, among others, by Cabinet Secretary Kamal Pande, Sahay, Director, Intelligence Bureau, K P Singh and Home Secretary Anil Baijal.

It is learnt that the meeting was a heated affair, where Sahay was asked why RAW did not inform the Government of its suspicions about Singh—the officer was under surveillance—until he actually vanished. Neither the Intelligence Bureau, which mans the immigration at the airports, nor the Special Branch of Delhi Police had been taken into confidence.

He is suspected to have fled the country via Chennai airport after apparently hoodwinking the counter-intelligence unit of RAW.

In fact the Government ordered an investigation only after the matter was brought to the notice of the Prime Minister's Office, including National Security Advisor (NSA) J N Dixit.

The functioning of RAW has been a source of concern with the Cabinet Secretariat and the latter has been suggesting that an independent agency should inquire into it. "When FBI is the counter-surveillance agency for the CIA in the US, why can't another agency do a similar job for RAW?" said a senior official.

In a slightly delayed reaction, the Government has also alerted Indian embassies in the US, all major European countries and Pakistan to keep a lookout for the elusive Singh.

India Shining? In Cauvery delta, farmers fight snakes for a meal: rats

Under the blazing June sun that has sucked the moisture from the ground and left it stone-hard, farmer K Subbaiyan is digging. Every now and then, his hopes rise as he chances upon a rat hole. But there are no rats inside, just the odd snail. Tonight, Subbaiyan's family will have to make do with snail kozhumbu (gravy).

Some days, Subbaiyan gets lucky. Recently, he managed to snare four rats. Roasted, they were stuffed with red chillies and salt and gobbled by the hungry family.

As Karnataka refuses to release Cauvery water to Tamil Nadu, it's no longer uncommon to see agricultural workers in the delta region hunting for rats. Finding the rats, however, has become difficult.

"Even they have become scarce, because we have been catching rats for the last two years now," says K Petharumal, another farmer from Sevalakkaran village in Mannargudi taluk, near Thanjavur. "In this weather, the snakes have come out and are vying with us."

But this is not a story about the strange eating habits of farmers around the tail-end of the Cauvery. Decades ago, their forefathers, equally deprived, did occasionally hunt for rats but gave up the practice as it was not "civilised." Now, with quiet desperation — even as a Central team tries to resolve the inter-state dispute — these men are reverting to a habit long abandoned.

A drought that has stretched across three years has taken its toll. The water table in Tiruvavur and Nagapattinam districts is low and saline, so sinking borewells is not an option.

Paddy cultivation makes sense only if Karnataka releases Cauvery waters to the Mettur dam, which then opens its shutters on June 12 every year to supply water to the farmers. But that has not happened for three years. And the farmers don't expect it to change.

A senior Tamil Nadu government official confirmed their fears. "Unless the dam has a storage of 35,000 million cubic feet, we cannot release water," he said. Today, the storage is just 11.395 tmc feet.

This dismal arithmetic has changed the landscape of the area and the lives of people who can no longer legitimately call themselves farmers. Most have already turned their backs on agriculture. Acres of fields are now covered with shrubs and the remains of a paddy crop that no one has bothered to even remove. Many of the villages are deserted as men and women have migrated to Kerala, Karnataka to other farms.

"How else do I feed my son and daughter?" asks 38-year-old S Ramanian from Tirukuvalai taluk, the birthplace of DMK president M Karunanidhi. He has just returned from a dyeing unit in Kerala and plans to go back next month.

Adds Melavazhakarai panchayat president S Tamaraiselvan: "There is no point in sowing the seeds, the crop will wither without water."

Meanwhile, the government schemes that were supposed to help them have failed to deliver:

- The Food for Work programme, suspended till the elections, has not resumed in many villages even a month after the polls. The Nagapattinam district collector Veeerashanmughamani says he has provided Rs 2 lakh for this programme to each hamlet. However, it could not be taken up in some parts because people had migrated to Kerala. In other parts, rains have stopped the desilting. And some farmers complained that the daily wage of Rs 14.45 a day and seven kilos of rice were just not enough to sustain their families.

- The black market has crippled the Public Distribution System. While each card-holder is entitled to 20 kg of rice a month at a rate of Rs 3.50 a kg, most end up getting only half the amount. Much of the stock gets diverted and sold in the open market at Rs 12.50 a kg, which farmers cannot afford.

- The only scheme that appeals to farmers like Subbbaiyan is the mid-day meal scheme in schools. This means his three boys are assured at least one meal. For the rest, he must hunt for rats.

Panchayati Raj Minister Mani Shankar Aiyar's constituency of Myladuthurai falls within Nagapattinam, the drought-hit delta district. However, the panchayat presidents say they are helpless. Melvazhakarai panchayat president S. Tamaraiselvan says Food for Work programme has not taken off in his village. "My panchayat has no funds for taking up any work to alleviate the farm workers' problems. Most schemes are centralised, so what can I do?"

In the meantime, the locals continue to eat rats.

Indian admits to fake Siachen action

An Indian soldier, who served in the Siachen Glacier, testified before an army court on Monday, June 7 that he had demolished a fake "enemy target" at the behest of a senior officer in August last year and later posed in a video film as an enemy casualty.

The revelations came as India's new government prepared to challenge former Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's administration with evidence of serious lapses in the Kargil conflict of 1999, which he had claimed as a victory.

Rifleman Shyam Bahadur Thapa was quoted by Indian reports as saying that his company Commander Major Surinder Singh made everybody involved in the operation swear before Lord Hanuman not to reveal the truth to anyone.

"Earlier on August 20 the officer called me and asked me if I could operate a video camera. When I said I did not know how to operate a camera, Major Singh taught me its operation," he was quoted as saying.

When the apparently fake encounter was being enacted, Major Singh, according to Rifleman Thapa, asked him to go near the rubble of the "enemy target" and lie there along the wall.

"He asked me to remove my jacket and cap before going to the demolished fake target and lie there. But when I started moving with my jacket and cap on, Major Singh abused me in foul language," Thapa said. "I was also asked by Major Singh to report a technical snag in the first two shots and fire with a rocket launcher to demolish the fake target," he said. "The drama was re-enacted on September 21," Thapa said.

Rifleman Shyam Bahadur Thapa is the fourth soldier to tell the court that army faked encounters in Siachen. Earlier JCO Phatte Bahadur Thapa, Hawaldar Neer Bahadur Ale and Nayak Bhuwan Bahadur Thapa made similar admissions.

The court is recording summary evidence as a follow up to a Court of Inquiry which held Col K D Singh and Maj R Lamba responsible for administrative lapses and recommended disciplinary action against Maj Surinder Singh for making exaggerated claims about strikes on enemy targets, euphemism for Pakistani troops.

The new Congress party government was reported to be planning further revelations on another battlefield - the Kargil conflict. The government was quoted as suggesting that Mr. Vajpayee's government had unnecessarily delayed ordering air strikes in the Kargil conflict to evict Pakistanis from the heights.

An Indian TV documentary meanwhile quoted a senior army officer as saying that a certain Kargil peak known as Point 5353 that he said belonged to India was still with Pakistan. The peak overlooked the strategic highway to Leh, in Ladakh. India, the officer said, had to include this issue in its talks with Pakistan.

Army post in Manipur ambushed by PREPAK

People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK) militants ambushed an Army post at Khonmunliyan Kuki area at Chandel district in Manipur resulting in heavy exchange of fire, official sources said on Monday, June 7. Casualties, if any, on both sides were not immediately known, the sources said. On June 8, Army personnel were still combing the area after the exchange of fire near Sajik

Tampak village, to flush out the insurgents.

Suspected PREPAK insurgents had earlier attacked an Army post at Paldai area near the same village on May 5 last but no casualty was reported. The Army had recently opened several posts to flush out insurgents from Sajik Tampak area where several insurgent organisations particularly Manipur People's Liberation Front (MPLF) had set up their base camps. The troops had taken up positions at Sajik Tampak and adjacent villages to drive out the insurgents from interior and inaccessible areas in the Manipur-Myanmar border.

Meanwhile, a caller who identified himself as a spokesman of PREPAK told the local media that the attack on an Army post was carried out by the 'Red Army' wing of the outfit. He said its members who took part in the ambush had returned to their camps safely. PREPAK is one of the constituents of MPLF which has been fighting for an 'independent Manipur' for over four decades, official sources said, adding that United National Liberation Front and People's Liberation Army were the other partners of the separatist group.

20 hurt in Tinsukia cinema hall blast

In a bizarre grenade blast in a cinema hall in Tinsukia today around 1 pm, twenty people were injured and the condition of nine was critical. The grenade was hurled from the balcony of the hall by suspected militants. The incident took place just after the start of a matinee show of a Hindi movie Aan at the Paradise Cinema Hall situated at Rungagora Road at a distance of 100 meters from the Sadar Thana. The ULFA had called for a ban on the screening of Hindi films in cinema halls of Assam in November 2003. Earlier this year,

some minor bomb blasts had taken place in other cinema halls.

After the blast, the manager informed the police. High-level officers of police, Army and CRPF rushed to the spot and took the stock of the situation.

Police suspected it to be a handiwork of ULFA militants and the device was a small one that was most probably carried in the pocket of a miscreant. A massive operation is on to nab the culprit. Police rounded up some people for preliminary enquiry. A panic situation prevailed in the city with people rushing to collect their children from the schools of the city.

Separately, the ULFA chairman, Arabinda Rajkhowa, in an interview with a Guwahati-based vernacular newspaper on June 8 said that any negotiation process with the Government must include a discussion on the sovereignty of Assam. He said, "There's no question of giving up the primary goal of attaining an independent Assam after so many sacrifices during the 25-year-long struggle."

952 killed, 1200 abducted by ultras in Tripura

A total of 952 people have been killed and over 1200 kidnapped by insurgents in Tripura during the last five years, Tripura Chief Minister Manik Sarkar has said.

In a written reply to a question by leader of the Opposition Ratan Lal Nath in the Assembly recently, Sarkar, who also holds the Home portfolio, said that 633 people were injured in insurgency-related incidents and 111 houses set ablaze by the ultras during the same period.

A total 836 insurgents had surrendered, he said, adding, 858 insurgents were arrested and 179 insurgents killed during the same period. Meanwhile, a massive

combing operation is on in Jampui Hill range of the state bordering Mizoram and Chittagong Hill Tract of Bangladesh to rescue the 24 persons who were kidnapped by NLFT insurgents recently.

Initially 37 people, mostly small traders who were going to Kampui village in North Tripura district in two trucks, were kidnapped by the ultras at gun point. Thirteen people were later freed. Despite combing operations by the police, Tripura State Rifles (TSR) and partly by BSF in the border areas, no one could be rescued.

The Chief Minister said that the Central Government would take up with Bangladesh the issue of demolishing the base camps of different insurgent groups of Tripura inside the neighbouring country and expedite the construction of border fencing.

ULFA recruitment drive on

ULFA has in the past two months embarked on a massive recruitment drive in Assam, the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) has cautioned the State Government, highly placed sources have confirmed recently. ULFA's growing belligerence in Assam after the Bhutan crackdown has not gone unnoticed at the centre and the State Government has been kept posted of the latest developments.

Extortion notices on the tea companies, served recently, is but the latest in a series of the disturbing news that suggests that the ULFA after suffering massive set backs in Bhutan has started regrouping and concentrating its focus on recruiting fresh batches. ULFA was believed to be running short of cadres and trying to make up for the losses it suffered in Bhutan, sources said.

Contrary to popular perception that the outfit is facing a dearth in

supply of arms and ammunition, it has emerged that 80 per cent of deadly arsenal of sophisticated weapons remained intact. ULFA still is left with surplus weapons and ammunition though it is faced with a crisis of manpower, a MHA official said.

During the Bhutan Operation last December, Royal Bhutan Army reported to India that its troops seized a huge cache of weapons including over 500 sophisticated automatic weapons, thousands of rounds of SLRs, Chinese made mortars and an anti-aircraft gun during raids. But it transpires that more than the seizure of the arsenal, the arrest and surrender of its cadres hurt the outfit most, sources said.

Although the exact numbers is hard to come by, around 100 insurgents were killed in combat with Bhutanese army and cadres in hundreds surrendered along with women and children. They were later handed over to India and lodged in various prisons. Family members of the traceless cadres had even visited Delhi to petition the Centre to ensure their release.

Later this April, the militant outfit, in an apparent bid to put further pressure on the State Government abducted State Minister, G C Langthasa's son, Nirmalendu Langthasa and demanded the release of seven of its top leaders gone traceless after Bhutan operations.

Reports pouring in to North Block suggest that the ULFA, taking advantage of the elections, has silently mounted massive recruitment drives in the State catching the security agencies unawares. The outfit has already tapped the districts of Kamrup, Nalbari, Nagaon, Sivasagar, Dibrugarh, and Tinsukia among others for fresh recruits, sources divulged.

The situation was considered alarming so much so that top Army commanders recently briefed the

Minister of State for Defence, Bijoy Krishna Handique on the latest developments in Assam on the ULFA front, sources revealed.

India figures in US human trafficking list

Exploits of hapless girls of the North East falling prey to human trafficking rackets has figured in the US State Department 2004 Report on Trafficking in Persons.

In Haryana, 23 trafficking-related arrests have taken place in the last eight months. In Nagaland, six people were charged under Immoral Trafficking Prevention Act (ITPA) statutes over the past year and there are three ongoing cases in Meghalaya.

Haryana had emerged as one of the hot spots for girls from Assam mostly belonging to poor families. These girls are lured by money and promise of a good life and fall victim to touts and middlemen who sell them to rich farmers. Several of them have gone missing while police and NGOs had rescued the more fortunate ones.

India has been placed on Tier 2 Watch List this year by the US State Department because of its failure to demonstrate increased Central Government law enforcement response to India's huge trafficking problem and inadequate local prosecutions in Mumbai and Kolkata.

Sustained and improved law enforcement efforts at the State-level were again not matched by the Central Government efforts to investigate and prosecute the most significant criminal forces behind India's trafficking industry.

Monthly Fatalities

The following death, related to various struggles for independence, took place during the period May 26 to June 25, 2004:

Monthly Fatalities

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	Civilians	Indian Security Personnel	Total
Assam	18	0	18
Left-wing	2	0	2
Manipur	14	8	22
Meghalaya	3	0	3
Nagaland	1	0	1
Tripura	1	7	8
Total	39	15	54

Domestic

Toxic input in Manchhar Lake main culprit - Hyderabad deaths

15 people have died in Hyderabad because of drinking highly toxic water.

The unannounced discharge of saline water from Manchhar Lake into the Indus is believed to be the main reason for the hazardous deterioration in the quality of drinking and agricultural water downstream of the Sukkur Barrage and the water deaths in Hyderabad and surrounding areas.

Interviews with senior officials of the irrigation and power department, Sindh, and the Water and Sanitation Agency (Wasa) revealed that highly toxic water was received from the lake, mixed only with meager amounts of freshwater from the Indus, at the Jamshoro Filter Plant on May 13 or 14 and allowed to travel untreated.

Wasa reportedly continued pumping water to the Latifabad, Qasimabad and city areas of Hyderabad district calculating that concentration of coliforms organisms, metallic effluents and other injurious substances would decline with more fresh water supply from the Sukkur Barrage.

Manchhar Lake is situated about

12km from Sehwan, Dadu. During the last two decades or more, the freshwater intake of the vast natural depression at the foothills of Kirthar has been decreasing in proportion to the saline and toxic effluent intake through the main Nara Valley drain.

Sindh irrigation secretary Bashir Ahmed Dahar said that in view of the coming monsoon as well as the early warning of a heavy downpour and cyclone at the beginning of May, an exercise spread over four days was undertaken to test the eight gates of the Aral Manchhar regulators. Due to the absence of regular maintenance works, the gates did not behave properly and these were finally raised to their full height through cranes and then closed after a few operations. However, during the tests about 200-250 cusecs of lake water entered the Indus sometime before May 11, the secretary added.

The accidental discharge was minimal and as such his department did not see any possibility of mixing of contaminated lake water with Indus water and that was why Wasa was not intimated of the development, Mr. Dahar said.

He admitted that there did not exist any system for coordination between Wasa and the irrigation department on the issue of draining out water from Manchhar Lake into

the Indus system. Last year too, lake water was sent into the river, but no adverse effects were felt as the flow of freshwater downstream Sukkur was higher.

Mr. Dahar said in the available conditions and according to practice, it was Wasa's problems to assess water quality before putting it into its distributaries. He said the water level at Manchhar was already at an alarming level and needed to be brought down to 108 ft before the addition of any rainwater or drain water into the lake, which had already been turned into a "dumping or dead" area.

Analysis

In any other country the death of even a single person through official negligence would have mobilized the government into frenzied activity. Eleven people, including children, have died so far after drinking highly toxic water but the indifference of both the Provincial and the Federal Government is deplorable. There is every possibility that the death toll might further rise.

The measures taken by the Sindh government are pathetically woeful given the magnitude of the tragedy. As usual, no one is ready to accept blame and the muck continues to fly thick and fast between the various agencies that are responsible for supply of water, each blaming the other. It was only on Tuesday, May 25 that the Sindh Governor Dr Ishratul Ibad presided over a high-level meeting to review the situation arising out of the supply of contaminated water. What tangible results are derived out of this meeting, remains to be seen.

The Federal Government on the other hand has not even bothered to voice concern at the crisis nor has it given out an official statement on the deaths of so many people. It should have moved swiftly to pro-

vide every possible assistance in the wake of the emergency that was declared in hospitals and the mounting death toll. Someone from the government should have visited those in the hospitals and family members of deceased to soothe their suffering and assure them of support. It is the government's duty to provide safe drinking water and when it fails to do so, it is also duty bound to determine reasons for such failings and it has the moral obligation to look after the welfare of those who may be affected.

All reports that have appeared in the media point to gross negligence in the manner toxic water was released into the Indus River from Manchhar Lake. This is an extremely serious error and it should be treated as such by the government but it seems that officials are more concerned about saving their own skins than in dealing with the matter. In the end, as has happened so many times in the past, a convenient scapegoat in the shape of a lower-level employee might be found and the matter will be closed. The deaths will continue to be mourned by a few family members and that will be the end of the matter.

It is a matter of shame that even after 56 years we do not have the means of providing safe drinking water for our people.

Muslims, West urged to end confrontation: Musharraf at OIC seminar

On Tuesday June 1 President Gen Pervez Musharraf called upon both the Ummah and the West to pursue simultaneously the two-pronged strategy of 'enlightened moderation' to respond effectively to the formidable challenges of global peace and security.

He was speaking at the inaugural session of an international seminar 'OIC Challenge and Response'

at the Jinnah Convention Centre here on Tuesday. Expounding on the strategy, President Musharraf said: "One prong to be delivered by the Muslim World of shunning militancy, extremism and adopting the path of socio-economic uplift.

The other prong to be delivered by the West, and the US in particular, must aim at resolutely resolving all political disputes with justice and also assisting in the social-economic uplift of the deprived Muslim World."

However, the president made it clear that the strategy of enlightened moderation could not be a one-way affair. "Both the prongs must be launched and implemented simultaneously and both must succeed.

Let no one make the disastrous mistake of putting the onus on one side alone," he warned. The president stated that it was the collective responsibility of the entire international community to address "the dangers that tend to push human civilization into the abyss of barbarism".

Reminding the Ummah of its 'glorious past' and the values of Islam, he observed: "Those who were trailing us are now leading us and dictating to us." He urged the Ummah to abandon the confrontational approach and adopt the path of progress and development.

"The time for renaissance has come. The only way forward is our socio-economic development," the president emphasized in his address to a large gathering of Islamic scholars and intellectuals from the OIC member states. "We have to concentrate on human resource development through poverty alleviation, education, health, and social justice," he added.

The president said that the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) had a crucial role to play in this regard. He underlined the need to infuse life into the 57-nation pan-Islamic body to be able to deliver on

the twin principles of the OIC charter: 'Unity within' and 'solidarity without'.

He also drew attention to the vital question of financing the OIC's activities and programmes on a regular and assured basis by the member states. "We have to show resolve and political will with full financial backing and rise above self-interests for our joint, common good in the very spirit that Islam teaches us," the president said.

He reiterated the need to understand the root-cause of extremism and militancy, asserting that the root lies in political injustices, denial and deprivation.

In what appeared to be a veiled reference to the US military action, President Musharraf said: "The world at large and the powers that be must also realize that confrontation and use of force is no more the option available to bring ultimate peace. Justice must be done and be seen to be done."

On a note of caution, the president said that theories of 'Clash of Civilizations' added fuel to fire. He quoted with concern the statement made by the Pope while welcoming the 10 new entrants into the EU fold in which the Pope said: "The bloc could only face the challenges of the 21st Century if it defended its Christian roots" and "Europe's identity would be incomprehensible without Christianity."

Analysis

The President's criticism of the Muslim world is not without reason. The OIC has, over the years, remained passive if not altogether indifferent, to the cause of Muslims. There is disunity within the ranks of the Muslim Ummah and the OIC because of which this organisation has failed to come upto the expectations of Muslims. Muslims continue to be subjected to widespread attacks and injustice in many parts

of the world but the OIC has failed dismally in providing succour to them – it remains a mute spectator at best.

The restructuring, reformation and energizing of the OIC that President Musharraf spoke so forcefully about is the need of the hour but given the state of disarray in the Muslim world in general and within Arab ranks in particular, this will be quite a challenging task. The first job will be to revive the Muslim world's (other than Arabs) loss of confidence in the OIC and the next task would be to somehow strive to bring about enhanced cooperation, unison and accord in the Arab members.

There can be no doubt that all OIC members would be unanimous in their agreement with views expressed by President Musharraf but would there be any takers? The west's perception about Muslims has taken a bad beating at the hand of forces inimical to Islam, especially after the events of September 11 and since then nothing constructive has been done to correct this very negative trend. While some Muslim countries did speak out against this anomaly, their voices were drowned in the anti-Muslim uproar. What was missing was a collective and united Muslim voice that would have launched a cohesive and no-nonsense strategy to counter the onslaught.

Unfortunately, most Muslim countries are more or less backward. In many countries the Muslim masses are faced with poverty, illiteracy and a host of other socio-economic problems. Many countries have not yet tasted the fruit of democracy. Widespread political dissent, infighting, human rights atrocities, lack of accountability, religious extremism, sectarianism, etc are some of the other nagging ills that bedevil many Muslim nations. Regrettably, it suits rulers in some Muslim nations to keep their

subjects in a constant state of backwardness and want.

The President's speech should be taken seriously by the OIC both as a representative body of Muslims and by the individual countries that make up the body. The task will be an arduous one but not entirely impossible.

MMA strike brings Karachi life to a standstill

Life in Karachi was paralyzed as a complete and peaceful shutdown was observed on Friday, June 4 in response to the call given by the Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal against the assassination of Mufti Nizamuddin Shamzai and loss of innocent people's lives in bomb explosions.

The Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy and the Pakistan People's Party had also called for the observance of 'protest day' and 'day of mourning' on Friday against the acts of terrorism and lawlessness.

In their Jumma sermons, ulema, khateebis and other speakers condemned the target killing of Mufti Shamzai and murderous attacks on innocent people. Police guards were deployed at mosques and Imambargah and people entering the places of worship were frisked with electronic gadgets for the first time in the history of the country.

Meanwhile, there were reports of violence at Banaras Chowk and Sohrab Goth. In the MMA-dominated area of Banaras Chowk, some people erected barricades and burned tyres to block the main thoroughfare. Police rushed to the spot to disperse them. However, the protesters pelted them with stones which led to a clash between the two sides. The police applied baton-charge and lobbed teargas shells. The protesters responded with heavier stone pelting which aggravated the situation.

As the clash continued, a group

of youths attacked the nearby Pirabad police station. They beat up the personnel on duty there which prompted the police to open fire. As a result, six people sustained bullet wounds and were taken to Abbasi Shaheed Hospital.

Ten policemen also suffered injuries after being hit with stones or some other hard and blunt objects. The disturbances continued for about an hour. Police picked up 25-30 people from Banaras Chowk area allegedly for their involvement in breach of peace.

At Sohrab Goth, protesters blocked Super Highway by setting old tyres and junk on fire in the middle of the road. Police resorted to baton charging and teargas shelling to disperse them. Later, the road was cleared of barricades.

All main markets and commercial areas, including Saddar, Empress Market and electronics market, remained closed since morning. The streets of Bohri Bazaar, usually crowded, wore a deserted look. Markets, bazaars, wholesale and retail shops, offices and other business establishments, hotels and vending shops in Bolton Market, Jodia Bazaar, Khori Garden, Kharadar, Mithadar, Tariq Road, Azizabad, Jauharabad, Gulberg, Hyderi Market, Nazimabad, Gulbahar, Gulistan-i-Jauhar, Gulshan-i-Iqbal and almost all other areas remained closed.

Public transport did not appear on roads since early morning and the people intending to get to their place of work had to return home after waiting for transport means in vain.

Private vehicles were seen plying but in a negligible number. Attendance at public and private offices was almost nil. A few who had their own transport means were able to reach at their offices.

Rail and air passengers were also affected by the non-availability

of transport means. Many passengers missed their trains and flights.

Analysis

Karachi had to endure yet another strike on a call given by the MMA. The MMA has the right to agitate an issue but it should have chosen another mode of protest rather than give the call for a countrywide strike. Earlier, some government leaders had asked the MMA Secretary General, Maulana Fazlur Rahman to withdraw the strike call but he was adamant.

The entire nation is deeply anguished over the tragic incidents of the last few weeks which saw innocent people being killed in mosques and Imambargahs, including renowned religious scholar Mufti Nizamuddin Shamzai who was brutally assassinated by unknown gunmen, an irreparable loss for the nation.

In the past, the politics of strikes had severely affected the economy when there was a strike virtually every week, so much so that people were fed up. Sadly, strikes in Pakistan have never been peaceful despite the best intentions of the party leaders. This time also, while the strike was generally peaceful, incidents of violence were reported from MMA dominated areas where a free for all ensued between the police and trouble-mongers that resulted in many injuries.

The people of Pakistan do not have a choice when strikes are observed. A great majority of the population has never supported strikes but they are forced to stay indoors as doing anything else would jeopardize their shops/property and even their lives. In the same manner, public transporters opt not to ply their vehicles as they know their vehicles would be set on fire. Schools, colleges, offices, banks, commercial and industrial activities

remain closed. All economic activity grinds to a halt.

At the end of the day or on the next day, those who had given the strike call bestow congratulations and gratitude on a hapless population for showing 'solidarity' and supporting them whereas it is usually fear of reprisal and the instinct for survival that propels the great silent masses to 'silently' bear the ordeal of a strike. Have leaders given any thought to the misery of thousands of daily wage earners whose children may not be able to eat because of the strike? How many patients continued to suffer in agony because they could not reach the hospitals? Even Edhi ambulances that were responding to calls to carry heart patients to hospitals were chased away and stoned by mobs. Many seriously ill patients suffered in agony because they could not reach hospitals. Can we stoop any much lower than this?

If leaders really want to gauge their popularity and support, they should call for a countrywide strike and let the people decide whether to join the strike or not in a truly democratic manner. The results should serve as an eye-opener for them.

Those who give call for strikes must also bear responsibility for the violence that eventually erupts. This time, violence was reported from MMA dominated areas. If MMA leaders are unable to restrain supporters from resorting to violence, what kind of influence do they really wield? Blaming such incidents on anti-social elements would not jell because outsiders dare not enter areas considered to be the party's strongholds.

It is about time that the politics of strikes be shunned by everyone concerned. Apart from the large-scale havoc and misery inflicted on the masses, it is the economy that is being really hurt. A single day's shut

down in Karachi results in losses worth more than Rs. 1.5 billion.

If the opposition wishes to pressurize the government on any issue, it should look towards other avenues that do not hurt the people or the country.

Rahim takes over as Sindh CM

Dr Arbab Ghulam Rahim took oath of office on Wednesday, June 9 as the new Chief Minister of Sindh. He was administered the oath by Governor Dr Ishratul Ibad at a simple ceremony held in the lawns of the Governor's House.

Dr Arbab Rahim, the 26th chief minister of the province, was earlier in the day declared elected as leader of the house by Sindh Assembly Speaker Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah after he secured 98 votes.

After the ceremony, Governor Ibad and Dr Arbab Rahim had a brief chat with journalists. The governor said that coalition partners' decision to elect Arbab Sahib as the new chief minister had been taken in the best interest of the province and its people.

When he was asked to comment on Election Commission's decision to declare void the recently-held by-elections in two National Assembly and one provincial assembly constituencies in Karachi, he said there were over 700 polling stations in the May 12 by-elections and he had information about disturbances only in 16 of them. However, the election commission is an independent institution and is free to take decisions.

Answering a question, Dr Rahim said he would consult his coalition partners before forming his cabinet. He said that law and order would be his top priority. However, he added, it was an old problem and he would work out a line of action with law-enforcement agencies.

He pledged to ensure good gov-

ernance. The governor has summoned the provincial assembly of Sindh to meet at Sindh Assembly building on Thursday at 5:30pm for obtaining vote of confidence for chief minister of Sindh. After seeking the vote of confidence, the assembly shall stand prorogued.

Analysis

Citing 'personal reasons', Mr. Ali Mohammad Mahar resigned as the CM of Sindh province, paving the way for Dr. Arbab Ghulam Rahim to step into the void. Mr. Mahar's resignation is widely believed to stem from Islamabad's request to step down 'voluntarily'. This was a face saving opportunity that he could not refuse – the alternative was to have been removed from office. His failure to exert authority in Karachi accelerated his downfall. His forced exit might be seen as the first dent in the current set-up.

Dr. Arbab Rahim takes over the hot-seat of the CM-ship at a time when Karachi is going through an extremely violent cycle of terrorist attacks. During the last month alone 61 people died in Karachi in bomb blasts and disturbances that raged in the aftermath of Mufti Shamzai's targeted killing and the bomb explosion at the Ali Raza Imambargah.

Karachi has always been tough to govern given the complexity and uniqueness of its character and make-up that is unlike any other province. Other than the menace of terrorists and (religious) extremism and the alarming crime rate that is on the climb, there are a host of other problems that bedevil this mega city. Karachiites have always faced an acute shortage of drinking water – this problem multiplies during the summers as do power shortages. These problems have never been rectified by any of the governments that have come into power – all have promised to deliv-

er but that was just about it. Our civic agencies that do not seem to be even properly geared to cope with minor emergencies fall apart at the seams when faced with more serious challenges. Large-scale influx of people from all over the country in pursuit of better jobs has aggravated local tensions in the employment sector. Widespread disturbances, general strikes and shut downs have also dented the province's economy. Karachi is a city where tensions run high because of the inefficiency of the many government departments that tend to look the other way or blame others when faced with a crisis.

Thus in all fairness to Mr. Mahar who was singularly burdened with all blame in not being able to wield authority in an effective manner, the culpability and responsibility for failure should have collective. However, now it is up to the new CM, who has said the law and order would be his top priority, to take up the challenge.

Now that the province has a new Chief Minister as well as a new police officer at the top, some really tough decisions will have to be taken as mere administrative and political changes will not bring any improvement in the situation. But it will be naïve to expect Arbab Ghulam Rahim to start delivering overnight. Among his priorities will be to initiate a well-planned and coordinated operation against terrorists and those harbouring them.

President announces landmark package for farmers

The President General Pervez Musharraf on Thursday, June 10 announced an unprecedented and comprehensive package to provide relief to farmers and boost agricultural production in the country.

The package envisages substantial reduction in interest rates, major

incentives for settlement of outstanding loans, exemption of duty on import of agricultural implements and raw material for inputs, reduction in price of DAP fertilizer and Rs. 64 billion massive presidential programme for lining of watercourses.

Prices of DAP fertilizer have been reduced to one hundred rupees per bag. The new prices will be effective on all the new imports from first of July.

In addition the import of new tractors below thirty-five HP and above hundred HP have been allowed with only ten percent duty. There will be no general sales and withholding tax. This measure will not hurt the tractor industry in Pakistan, as they do not manufacture this range of tractors.

The President also announced that the duty structure on raw materials used for manufacture of pesticides is being abolished. He said the duty structure that is being announced in the budget would make local formulation and manufacture more advantageous.

General Pervez Musharraf directed the concerned authorities to revise the fertilizer policy by the end of this month and said the new policy should encourage and increase urea production capacity so that farmers have realistic cost.

In another major relief for the farmers the President announced that the interest rate of Zarai Taraqiati Bank will be brought down from fourteen to nine percent from next month. The new rate will be charged for all type of new loans including tractors and tube-well loans so that maximum number of people could benefit. Those customers who pay back their loans on time will be charged only eight percent of interest rate for next year.

The President also announced that the powers of Zarai Taraqiati Bank for arrest and imprisonment of the farmers for not returning their

loans are being abolished with immediate effect as such powers have only been used against the poor and the weak.

In order to provide major relief to those farmers having outstanding agricultural loans General Pervez Musharraf said loans cases of up to five hundred thousand rupees defaulted till the 31st December 2000 can be settled on the payment of fifty percent of the amount outstanding. This concession will benefit about two hundred and fifty thousand farmers. Keeping in view the hardships faced by the farmers of Balochistan due to prolonged drought the President announced the special concession for them. He said those farmers having outstanding loans of two hundred thousand rupees can settle their cases on the payment of twenty-five percent of the principal amount.

The President said as water channels are farmers' lifeline therefore a gigantic project is being undertaken under which eighty-seven thousand Kutcha Khalas of Pakistan will be brick lined under a crashed programme in the next four years. This will conserve about thirty percent of the water lost due to absence of watercourse lining. The project will cost sixty-six billion rupees. One billion rupees have already been released and another six billion allocated in the next financial year. This project will create employment for about hundred thousand skilled and unskilled workers in the rural areas of the country.

President General Pervez Musharraf said the total agricultural credit which reached sixty five billion rupees this year will be increased to hundred billion rupees. He underlined the importance of undertaking small and big dams in order to meet severe shortage of water. He said a number of projects have been initiated to develop water sources such

as raising the crest of Mangla dam, construction of Gomal Zam dam, Mirani dam, Subak Zai dam and Sapara dam. Two point eight million acres of land will be brought under cultivation once these projects will be completed.

Analysis

At last, the farmer community has something to rejoice about. The incentive package unfurled by President Musharraf is intended to provide much needed relief to farmers and boost agricultural production in the country. Interest rates of bank credits have been slashed, prices of DAP fertilizers have been brought down by Rs. 100 per bag and major incentives have been announced for settlement for outstanding farming loans.

The growth potential in the agricultural sector has received a tremendous boost from the announced package. A major relief has been provided to farmers by slashing the bank's interest rates from 14% to 9% which will now be applicable on all types of new loans from the next month. Those who pay back loans on time would get additional relief and only 8% interest would be charged from them the next year. Farmers would also have heaved a sigh of relief as the Bank's powers to arrest, which were perceived to be mostly used as a tool to harass, have now been abolished by the president. Duty structure on raw materials that are used for manufacture of pesticides also stands abolished.

Major concessions were also announced to assist defaulters in paying off their outstanding loans.

There is no doubt that this package will infuse hope and renewed vitality and vigor in the farmers as most of their concerns seems to have been addressed. For once the farmers should have the motivation to

engage in their activities with gusto and help the country on the way to self-reliance in food items. Once this is achieved, the next target could be to produce surplus for export but this might yet a long way away as there are other concerns which will also have to be addressed so that the farmers can have a really level playing (or sowing) field.

Speedy disposal of terror cases: President

President Gen Pervez Musharraf on Monday, June 14 stressed the need for adopting a more proactive approach to rein in terrorists who were trying to destabilise the country. Presiding over a high-level meeting at the Governor's House, Gen Musharraf, who had flown into the city on Sunday night, expressed serious concern over the prevailing law and order situation and urged the judiciary for 'active involvement in speedy disposal of cases involving acts of terrorism'.

The terrorist attacks in the city in which 72 people had been killed since May had seriously affected the writ of both the federal and provincial governments. The sources said that President Musharraf called for the revamping of police, cleansing it of political influence and making it accountable for law and order.

During the three-hour meeting, the shortcomings in intelligence gathering and scientific tracking down of the terrorist network came under review and measures to strengthen security agencies were discussed.

The meeting assumed great significance because of the change of guards in Sindh in the wake of a spate of terrorist attacks in the metropolis. The meeting was considered significant also because the president had to rush to Karachi while Governor Dr Ishratul Ibad was in London for consultations with Muttahida Qaumi Movement's chief

Altat Hussain on issues pertaining to cabinet formation and other 'unsolved matters', the sources said.

President Musharraf reiterated his resolve that he would not allow anybody to destabilise the country in general and Karachi in particular, and in this context referred to the measures the government had taken against terrorists, as a result of which many wanted terrorists had been apprehended and clues to others had been found.

He directed the chief minister to take necessary measures, irrespective of political considerations, to maintain law and order and urged greater coordination between the provincial government and district governments.

Gen Musharraf emphasized that the "government should be proactive and offensive rather than defensive against terrorists". While appreciating the success of police and paramilitary Rangers in rounding up terrorists, he said that honest and dedicated police officers should be encouraged and brought forward to improve the security situation. The police should also endeavour to get hold of the mastermind and planners of the terrorist acts, he added. The president also emphasized the need to check the "misuse of mosques and madaris" and said that Nazims at all levels, down to the union council, could play an important role in eradicating sectarian hatred.

Analysis

The President's visit to Karachi and his presiding over the high level meeting to review the prevailing law and order situation in the city indicates the seriousness of the situation. It also shows that the Federal Government has decided to assert its authority to fight the menace of terrorism in Karachi.

Not many will disagree with the

President's call for a speedy disposal of cases involving acts of terrorism. The present state of the judiciary, especially at the lower level, is such that the people do not get quick or inexpensive justice. It is normal for cases to carry on for years and years because of which criminals can easily get away with their crimes.

The judiciary should respond to the President's call and ensure that swift justice is meted out, especially in cases related to terrorism. This will result in tremendous benefits all round. The victims will get quick relief, the guilty will be punished swiftly, cases will not keep on piling up, it will improve the efficiency of the Police force and it will serve as a deterrent sending out strong signals to terrorists that they will not be spared.

But all said and done, the judiciary can only act quickly when the efficiency level of our investigative and intelligence agencies is overhauled and fine-tuned. As such, the President's call for the revamping of police, cleansing it of political influence and making it accountable for law and order is also quite welcome. It is about time that the intelligence agencies are taken to task for failures that led to some of the worst acts of terrorism in Karachi during May and June this year. Mere administrative changes will not work, a general overhaul of the set-up is needed. The involvement of members of law enforcement agencies in some acts of terrorism recently should be cause enough for government to quickly cleanse these bodies.

There is no doubt about the president's sincerity and determination to cleanse the rot that has set in our law enforcement agencies. Unfortunately, this could be a case of "easier said than done" as they are also required to carry out the political agenda of all governments that have come to power. They are

primarily utilized as a political tool by those in power that in turn has given our agencies a heady sense of being all-powerful. Furthermore, members of the law enforcement agencies have their own "Godfathers" in the political power corridors who extend "protection" to them when needed. Small wonder then that those who are more corrupt in the law enforcement agencies have grown more powerful.

The direction shown by the president should spur on the government to get its priorities going in the right direction and instruct all law enforcement agencies to concentrate one hundred percent on fighting terrorism and serving the people. The government should also warn members of its own flock to desist from influencing and manipulating police officers. Those found wanting and corrupt must be weeded out and sacked, there must be no transfer orders as this will only give them a leash (and approval) to keep on their merry ways.

Miscellaneous

KARACHI: Stringent security steps planned for city

The Capital City Police, under a security plan for important government offices and officials, has decided to divide the city in different 'security zones' with a view to ensure an effective check on suicide bombings and subversive activities in the city.

In the first phase, Clifton Town and Saddar Town have been divided in 12 security zones - Headquarters 5 Corps, Rangers Headquarters, Jinnah Courts, Governor's House, Naval Headquarters, Sindh Secretariat, Sindh Assembly, Sindh High Court, US Consulate General, Residence of US Consulate General, British

Mission, Police Head Office (PPO Office), and Office of the DIG Operations.

IGP Syed Kamal Shah has directed police department to finalize the arrangements to implement the plan in the remaining 16 towns without any delay. All TPOs, especially those of Clifton and Saddar towns, have been asked to deploy security staff in adequate number at checking points in their respective security zones.

The check points are to be set up on the main roads around the demarcation lines of the security zones and would be at a reasonable distance from each other. An ASI or head constable at every check point would be responsible for coordination among all the deployed force within a security zone. The information and directives pertaining to security matters would be passed on promptly among the force deployed for the purpose.

In case of vehicle-snatching or a similar incident, the operations base would convey the relevant details to the checkpoints of all the security zones. Detailed about the checking of vehicles, to be updated every hour, would be kept at the Reader Branch of each town.

The IGP has directed the TPOs that in the face of an alert call, nakabandi and vehicle checking be carried out at all the entry and exit points, especially at Mochko post, Super Highway Toll Plaza, Ghaghar Crossing, etc., and to ensure that all SDPOs and SHOs were present within their jurisdiction to personally supervise the checking. The IGP himself would supervise the checking operation in the city.

The IGP has asked SSPs to keep their reserve force on alert so that it could be mobilized swiftly in case of an emergency. The SDPOs and SHOs have been directed to keep a reasonable distance between every

two vehicles during the checking. The IGP directed the officials that a suspected vehicle must be checked by its driver with security personnel acting as lookout.

Police force deployed at check points would be equipped with walky-talky sets, explosives detectors and specific mirrors meant for vehicle checking. In case of an alert call, all essential services - fire brigade, bomb disposal squad, ambulances, etc. - be kept in ready-to-move position, said the IGP.

Karachi: Two suicide bombings - worst among 140 blasts

As many as 1,110 casualties in about 140 blasts in the metropolis have been reported since 1990, the data compiled by Dawn shows.

Among the victims, 199 people died in the blasts of varied intensity and 51 of them lost their lives in the last month alone during which the city witnessed some of the worst incidents of bloodshed and violence in a decade.

The two suicide bombings - one at the Hyderi mosque and the other at the Imambargah Ali Raza - in May are just next to the only suicide bombing (Nov 6, 2000) reported so far in Karachi, or perhaps in the country.

Though there are instances where places of worship had been targeted in the past, the distinguishing factor in the blasts at these particular spots, the mosque and Imambargah, was that the bombs were detonated inside the sacred places.

The unprecedented trend sent a wave of shock and anguish among the followers of all sects and the feelings were manifested in the prompt public reaction over the next few days.

It was on May 31 that a bomb went off inside the Imambargah Ali Raza on M. A. Jinnah Road while Maghribain prayers were in progress.

The blast took a heavy toll killing many faithful on the spot but the figure till date has touched the mark of 24. Another 30 were injured in the incident. Initial investigation and evidences make police believe that it was an incident of suicide bombing. The tragedy sparked off widespread violence throughout the city.

On May 26, two car bombs at almost same place - in front of the Pak American Cultural Centre on Fatima Jinnah Road - went off with an interval of about half an hour. A policeman was killed and 30 people, most them press photographers sustained injuries in the incident.

The first booby-trap car (Honda City) was blown up with a magnet-bearing bomb that was stuck with the vehicle's body. As police and the media men were discharging their duties at the scene, another car parked nearby blew up, killing the police guard of Clifton's TPO.

The officer himself was seriously injured along with three press photographers. It transpired that the number plate of the car was fake. On May 25, a parcel bomb exploded in the vicinity of KPT, killing three persons, all labourers, and injured another three.

The first suicide bombing had been carried on May 7 during Jumma prayers at the 1894 mosque named Hyderi Masjid. The bomb devastated its main hall as it exploded inside the mosque while faithful were offering prayers. The mosque is located within the historic Sindh Madressatul Islam complex. Fourteen people died and 90 others sustained injuries in the blast. The death toll rose to 23 in the next few days with nine of those injured succumbing to their serious wounds.

The first blast of the year had taken place outside Avari Tower building on January 15. Several policemen, Clifton's TPO Munir Shaikh and photographers were among the 12 people injured in the explosion. A grenade had exploded outside the

premises of the Holy Trinity Church first, and the devastating blast in a Suzuki (Hi-roof) happened next.

On April 10, a young man died when a car blew up near the Golf Club in DHA during a concert where an Indian singer, Sonu Nigum, was performing. The young victim was the son of a police official.

The first bomb blast of 2003 had taken place on February 3. The bomb went off outside the PSO House in Clifton, killing a fee-collector of charged-parking contractor. In May 2003, there was a series of cracker explosions at 21 petrol stations across the city. Five people were injured.

On July 22, 2003, two persons died when a bomb went off at the entrance of the Kawish Crown Plaza on Sharea Faisal. On September 22, 2003, another explosion rocked the 10th floor of the same plaza without causing any casualties.

It is noted that terrorists in the past had been using hand grenades to cause a blast and the explosives in most cases appeared to be of Russian origin. The grenades were hurled at the targets, including mosques, Imambargahs, police stations, etc. However, in the recent incidents of bomb blast, locally made explosives are being used.

In their apparent bid to cause maximum possible number of casualties and highest amount of scare, terrorists select crowded and secured places like major hospitals, places of worship, police stations, etc., as their target.

During the past few decades, the city courts, stock exchange building and newspapers offices in the city also came under attack. Explosive devices were planted in garbage dumps and junk shops in many incidents whereas in some cases time bombs and plastic explosives weighing one-two kilograms, attached with detonator, were used.

A similar device had gone off

outside the office of the district East police chief on May 5, 2000 leaving one person dead and six others injured. In the blast which took place on Sept 24, 1999, a home-made pipe bomb was used to cause a blast outside the civil hospital. Several vehicles parked outside the hospital were damaged.

In several incidents minors playing outside their houses in different localities of the city were injured when they picked up or touched a booby-trap device. One of the most vulnerable targets selected once by terrorists appeared to be public transport means.

Bombs were placed or concealed in mini-buses plying on busy routes to cause heavy casualties and damage. Some of the major incidents of bomb blasts since 1990 included the series of explosion in the city on October 10, 1991. Four persons were killed and 50 others injured in the blasts at four sensitive and strategic points. The powerful devices went off one after the other within a radius of two kilometres. The first blast occurred at the Central Police Office followed by those at the Sindh Secretariat, CIA Centre (Saddar) and the old KDA building opposite Burnes Garden.

On August 18, 1992, three Navy personnel were killed and 43 injured when three hand-grenades, allegedly in possession of one of the victims, exploded in the passenger enclosure of Keamari.

Two Bangladeshi immigrants were killed and five others injured when a home-made bomb went off, in a junk dealer shop in Moosa Goth, North Nazimabad, on Oct 10, 1992. About a month later, two persons were killed and 16 injured when two high-intensity explosions ripped through the usually crowded Urdu Bazaar on November 12, 1992.

In most unusual modus operandi, attackers used a parcel bomb

which killed superintendent of the Central Jail Karachi Khalid Iqbal. He died on the spot upon opening the parcel delivered through a courier at his residence on March 15, 1993.

Terrorists lobbed a grenade at a bus in North Karachi, killing six people and injuring 22 of the 45 passengers, who were returning from an Imambargah located at Sindhi Hotel area and were on their way to Qasba Colony on July 23, 1994.

Ten people were killed and 28 others injured when a powerful bomb exploded outside a mosque after Jumma prayers in Malir on March 3, 1995. On April 30, 1995, a projectile exploded at a junk dealer's shop in SITE, claiming four lives. The then Bomb Disposal Squad chief, Mr. Moinuddin, had described the device as 'heat projectile shell' similar to an infantry heat HMX-TNT (84mm) rocket.

A 60-year-old sweeper died when a home-made crude bomb went off in her hands in Kalakot area on Sept 9, 1995. The victim, Rehmat Bibi, was sweeping Barkati Compound in the locality when she found a garbage bag containing the explosive device.

The city had witnessed a spate of rocket attacks in the '90s also but no major loss of life or property had occurred in the incident. On June 1, 1995, two rockets were fired at the New Karachi police station. Two policemen were slightly injured. On the same day, two powerful blasts rocked the Sindh Assembly and Naval Colony.

Seven rockets hit the Sindh Secretariat building destroying several offices. Though the attack caused much damage to the building, it did not cause casualties. On Nov 14, 1995, 10 (RPG) rockets were fired at the district South police offices.

Most of the rockets missed their targets. One of the attackers was killed in a shootout with police. On Jan 8, 1996, a powerful bomb ripped through a jam packed bus on Sharea Faisal, killing seven pas-

sengers and wounding 35 others. The ill-fated bus had started its journey from Saddar and was heading towards Gulshan-i-Hadeed when the blast occurred. A powerful bomb exploded outside the offices of an Urdu daily on March 4, 1997. No major casualties were reported.

On Nov 2, 1997, principal of the Jamiatul Uloom Al-Islamiyya, Binnori Town, Dr Habibullah Mukhtar and one of his colleagues were burnt to death when two motorcycles hurled an explosive device in their vehicle at Business Recorder Road.

Seven persons were killed and 26 injured when a powerful bomb exploded in a shop at Al-Asif Square near Sohrab Goth. Two persons were injured when two locally-made explosive devices, one planted in daily Dawn's office and the other under a car in front of the nearby Saifee House, went off with an interval of about half-an-hour.

Two passenger were killed and 18 others injured when a time bomb exploded in a Korangi-bound bus near Mehmoodabad on Oct 8, 1999. Nine persons were killed and 25 others injured when a bomb planted in a sugarcane juice shop at the intersection of Shahrah-i-Liaquat and Mohammad Hashim Khan Road, near Arambagh, went off on Jan 1, 2000.

Three persons were killed and 23 injured when a blast rocked the convention organized by a jihadi outfit in Gulshan-i-Iqbal on Oct 22, 2000. On Nov 6, 2000, the first ever suspected suicide bombing took place at the office of Nawa-i-Waqt and The Nation near Guru Mandir roundabout. Investigators had said: "A woman having fastened a belt around her waist to hold the bomb went into the newspaper's office and detonated the device." Her body blew up in pieces whereas two of the newspaper employees also died in the blast. Later, experts came out with the theory that the woman

might have been trapped by the attackers who detonated the remote-controlled device.

The first blast of 2002 had taken place on the New Year night injuring eight persons at Area-51 near Marina Club, DHA. Several vehicles parked inside the club were damaged in the explosion.

During early months of the same year, a new technology was used by the terrorists who used two mobile phone sets to detonate a parcel bomb sent to a retired army official and delivered at his residence in Clifton.

Experts said that one of the mobile phones was used to play the ring, the second one, attached with some explosive substance, to detonate the device. As the parcel exploded, there was nobody present in the room where the driver of the army official had placed it.

On May 8, 2002, fourteen people, including 11 Frenchmen, were killed and 18 others injured by a suicide bomber who pulled up his car near the Pakistan Navy's bus carrying the Frenchmen. The blast occurred in front of the Sheraton Hotel on Club Road.

The suicide bomber was driving a 1981 Corolla which was blown into pieces. On June 14, 2002, 10 people died and 51 injured when a vehicle blew up in front of the US Consulate causing massive destruction.

Initially, it was believed that a vehicle carrying four women and belonging to a driving institute was the actual booby-trap. However, foreign investigation agencies later came out with the theory that the bomb was planted in another vehicle, a Suzuki pick-up, which was being driven by two men.

On Dec 4, 2002, a blast occurred at the residence of the honorary consul of Macedonia. It caused widespread damage within the vicinity. On Dec 19, 2002, four people died when an explosion took place in a house in Korangi. The Sindh IGP had told newsmen that one of the most wanted terrorists with

international links, Asif Ramzi, was among the four. (Courtesy DAWN).

Pak economy has taken a paradigm shift: ADB

Pakistan's economy has taken a paradigm shift towards a high growth path. The high growth rate achieved by Pakistan in GDP, revenues, exports and other macroeconomic indicators as well as decline in debt burden are not matched by many countries. All this has been made possible due to the well-thought-out economic policies and reforms introduced by the government during a few years. Now the emphasis should be on maintaining a stable policy environment, consistency and the continuity of the reforms.

Director General, Asian Development Bank, Mr. Yoshihiro Iwasaki stated this in a meeting with Federal Finance Minister Mr. Shaukat Aziz in Islamabad on Tuesday, June 8. The Minister and Mr. Iwasaki discussed suggestions for "Path Breaking" economic initiatives so as to sustain a higher growth rate and achieve better distribution of income.

The Bank will focus to provide financial and technical support in prioritized areas of infrastructure development, uplift of rural sector, urban renewal and capacity building programme for skill enhancement of rural and urban population.

The Minister was informed that ADB rural sector uplift programme will be mainly based on six pillars i.e. small-scale irrigation projects, rural financing through ZTBL and micro finance programmes, market reforms with more involvement of private sector, diversification of rural economy and research and development programme in agriculture. The Bank indicated that it is ready to grant US\$ 10 million for the R&D projects. The sixth pillar of policy suggested by ADB was adoption of a holistic approach of rural area development with main focus on development of low income areas. In such areas efforts will be made to develop

agro-based industry and areas of social sectors which can support agriculture development and contribute in the overall development of the area. A regional approach will be adopted in this context, said Mr. Iwasaki.

Referring to ADB's capacity building programmes, Mr. Iwasaki said plans will be adopted to increase productivity of rural areas' work force. Bank's strategy will be to achieve the targets through modernization of techniques, skill enhancement, opportunity creation, training and education of work force in rural and semi-urban areas.

In the infrastructure development plans the Bank will be investing in maintenance of old projects and in the initiation of new ones. It will be focusing on national highways while during past the emphasis was on the provincial side. For this the bank is working on a strategy with National Highways Authority. In the ports and shipping sector plans will be adopted for the rehabilitation of existing ports.

The Minister said Pakistan is in a crucial phase of its economic history. It needs to think differently and take aggressive steps for ensuring sustainable economic growth and realize its full potential.

Meanwhile, Director General of Asian Development Bank Yoshihiro Iwasaki on Tuesday appreciated economic policies of Pakistan and said a paradigm shift in Pakistan's economy has made it stable and strong.

In a meeting with Prime Minister Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali, he said Pakistan should now focus on achieving 8 per cent growth which will benefit the common man. He said the country has made remarkable success in achieving the growth target and suggested focus on improvement of the rural sector.

Altaf's offer to Nawaz, Benazir

Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) chief Altaf Hussain has offered

"unconditional cooperation" to all political forces if they evolved a pragmatist approach to help the country face the current daunting challenges.

Speaking at the 26th foundation day of the All-Pakistan Mohajir Students' Organization late night on Sunday, June 14, he said that the MQM was ready to extend such a cooperation for "saving the country" provided the political forces worked out a strategy to deal with the current difficult situation keeping in view the ground realities in the country.

The participants approved a resolution in this regard by raising their hands. Altaf Hussain said that the MQM was ready to "shake hands" with all its political opponents, including former Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif and PPP chairperson and former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.

He said all of us should tolerate one another in the larger interest of the country. Altaf Hussain said that President Pervez Musharraf took a right decision of backing the international community in its war against terrorism.

He lashed out at the religious parties and said they were misleading the innocent people in the name of Jihad and Islam. The MQM chief said that the "religious clerics" wanted to spoil the law and order situation in Karachi by holding strikes following the killing of Maulana Shamzai.

Why protest rallies were not held in the NWFP, the late Maulana's home-town, and other places as the late Maulana had followers throughout the country? he questioned.

Code of ethics for print media proposed

The Uks, a research, resource and publication centre on women and media, on Wednesday, June 16 called upon newspapers owners and other stakeholders in the newspaper industry to adopt a gender-sensitive code of ethics for print media.

The call came at a one-day interactive/consultative meeting, held at a local hotel, with the editorial staff

of various newspapers. The meeting decided that recommendations would be sent to the APNS, PFUJ and KUJ so that the code of ethics could be adopted and implemented.

The code stresses on caution against the victim's identification in rape cases, abduction, acid-throwing, sexual abuse of a child, etc. Participants of the meeting were of the view that victims of such incident must not be identified through print media and a similar approach should be adopted while publishing reports about VIPs' and other officials' visits, who would meet such victims.

With regard to the publication of women's pictures, the code of ethics suggests that instead of displaying pictures of glamorous women, those of the women who excelled in their fields be preferred wherever possible.

It also emphasizes that pictures of the women attending an event or gathering, as being published by most newspapers without a caption, should be published with the permission of the subjects.

The code includes the recommendation that working environment at newspaper offices be made conducive for women journalists. It stressed the need for the strict implementation of regulations against sexual harassment. Women journalists should be encouraged to cover a variety of issues and not merely be relegated to covering women-oriented issues, it was recommended.

Regarding advertising and pictorial projection, the code of ethics suggests that advertisement from sexologist (offering potency drugs etc) and quacks should not be published as such adds not only instigate violence and sexual crime, but also portray a false image of masculinity, equating it with physical prowess. The meeting was conducted by Tasneem Ahmer. ♦

Current Threat Levels:

City/ Region	Threat Level	
Islamabad	Level 2	**
Karachi	Level 3	***
Lahore	Level 2	**
Punjab	Level 2	**
NWFP	Level 2	**
Peshawar	Level 2	**
Quetta	Level 3	***
Upper Balochistan	Level 3	***
Lower Balochistan	Level 2	**
Upper / Rural Sindh	Level 3	***
Gilgit and Northern areas	Level 3	***
Tribal areas, close to Afghan border	Level 3	***

Index to Threat Level Perceptions

Threat Level 1	*
Indicates there is no threat to foreigners although there may be isolated incidents involving petty crime. No security precautions are required.	
Threat Level 2	**
Indicates there is no specific threat to foreigners; however because of the overall general law and order situation, some security precautions are advised if travelling.	
Threat Level 3	***
Indicates that law and order situation is cause for concern and travel should be avoided unless absolutely necessary. Level dictates that foreigners should rehearse plans for evacuation.	
Threat Level 4	****
Indicates complete breakdown of civil administration and law and order leading to anarchy. All foreigners advised to remain indoors and confined to their own city. Families and staff not required to be evacuated retaining only a skeleton staff.	
Threat Level 5	*****
Indicates complete breakdown of law and order, enemy action/hostilities, invasion/occupation by enemy.	